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# INDIAN NATIONALISM

## Vol. I

[ Evolution, Political Consciousness and National Integration in Ancient India ]

By

DR. A. B. L. AWASTHI

M.A. (Lko.), D.A., Ph.D.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता कारकवर्गः स्वतन्त्रा कृतिरपि ।
ये परतन्त्रीकर्तुमीशास्तेऽपि च ते कृताः ॥

184

KAILASH PRAKASHAN
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275

With respects
to
N Puri, B.Litt.(Oxon), D.Phil.(Oxon)

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# INDIAN NATIONALISM

## Vol. I

**[ Patriotism, Political Consciousness and National Integration in Ancient India ]**

*By*

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*B.A. Hons., M.A., Ph.D.*
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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW
LUCKNOW

स्वाधीन वृत्तेः साफल्यं न पराधीन वृत्तिता ।
ये पराधीनकर्माणो जीवन्तोऽपि च ते मृताः ॥

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to

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## FOREWORD

Dr. A. B. L. Awasthi has collected together in this little book from ancient sanskrit literature, including inscriptions, passages expressive of ideas and sentiments on the unity of India, patriotism, nationalism, the glory of defending the Motherland and the particular way of life developed there in the course of centuries, ideas and sentiments, which are very relevant to the particular stage through which India is passing today. The material has been arranged to a certain extent in a chronological order. Much material has inevitably been taken from that encyclopaedic work, the Mahābhārata. In fact the booklet contains a translation of Mārjāramūshikopākhyāna of the Śāntiparvan. The booklet is fit to be placed in the hands of young people who will get a connected account of what ancient Indian thinkers and heroes thought of their own country and culture.

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER
Ex-Vice Chancellor, Lucknow University
and
Vārāṇaseya Saṁskrit Viśvavidyālaya

4—2—'65

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# INDIAN NATIONALISM

## Vol. I

*(Patriotism and National Integration in Ancient India)*

## INTRODUCTION

Indian history is full of problems, complicated by speculations and bias. One such great problem is the Turkish conquest of India. "History would appear to be meaningless, if facts of such outstanding importance can not be viewed in their true perspective against a proper background". It was a challenge. It spurred me to dive deep in the vast and varied literature. I noticed one, sole and salient feature, of Indian History from 8th Century A.D. to 18th Century A.D. It is the Gaja-Śārdūla struggle fought by the Lions against the wild Elephants. Medieval Rājapūta dynasties and their records have been studied by the scholars here and abroad. But they failed to take a notice of this national symbol. Gwalior Stone Inscription of Bhoja is such a single document of Early Medieval India. It repeatedly refers to the struggle between Pratihāras as well as Turushkas, Mlechchhas and Elephants. The very names of the rulers of this epoch like Daṅti-durga. Daṅti-varman, Nāgabhaṭa etc. are based on the valour of the kshatriyas, the lions, emnating from taking out the jewels from the temples of the elephants. Inscriptions, too, abound in the depiction of this motif. An other literary, epigraphic and monumental theme of portrayal has been Varāha līlā–Vārāha rescuing the earth from the demons (Mlechchhas, Mudrā Rākshasa, VII.19). If kings and ministers, both guided by the policy of Shāḍguṇya could have remained watchful, conscientiously following the dictates of the age, the national calamity, which befell this sacred land, could have been averted.

Turkish conquest of India was neither abrupt nor rapid. It took at least 570 years from 636 A.D., when

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Thana (Mahārāshṭra) was first raided, to 1192 A.D. when Bhārateśvara fell in the Second Battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. Tact and treachery, unknown to Rājapūtas in their warfare, took them by surprise. But they never succumbed to slavery. They fought and fell for the sake of the country and culture. Philosophy of the Gītā gave them power of sustenance in the hours of distress.

In the dark night of distress and defeat, *rajanī-parābhavaṁ*, the only sun of Hindu liberty remained illuminated at the tower of Chittor. Mewar did not barter liberty. Historians think that Rāṇā Pratāpa should have acceded to the imperialistic forces of Akbar. But such historians, unconscious of the life of hardship under a free roof, failed to read the spirit of Mewar. Mewar prince taunted his fellow Rājapūta prince of Marwar :

हम नर नाह अनादि, हद्द रक्खनि हिंदवानिय ।
Rāja V., III.88.

तुम आसुर आधीन, धीय दै धरनि सुरक्खनि ।।
Ibid., III.91.

Saṁskṛit thinkers, the Āryan Ṛishis, valued well the fruits of freedom enjoying them, if the times forced, in the solitudes of hills and dales. The struggle for the political freedom which we now enjoy was the result of a mind—the state of mind which manifested itself also in the desire to conduct human affairs according to the dictates of reason. Mārkaṇḍeya, centuries before the age of Rousseau, upheld liberty to be the basic right of humanity. Rousseau's views are incorporated in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789 A.D.). A kshatriya aspired to live and die with honour without being sullied and slandered (akhaṇḍa yaśo vīryo yaḥ parair nāpamānitaḥ).[1] Defeat and discomfiture distressed him and even denied the status of human personality (paraiḥ parājito'haṁ..... ....kimatra mānushatvaṁ).[2] Mārkaṇḍeya asserts :

1. Mārkaṇḍeya P. ( Jivānand Edn.) CXXV.27.
2. Ibid., CXXV.28.

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स्वतन्त्रता मनुष्याणां परतन्त्रा सदाऽबला ।
नरोऽपि परतन्त्रो यस्तस्य कीदृङ् मनुष्यता ॥[1]

Garuḍa Purāṇa,[2] too, urges :

स्वाधीनवृत्तेः साफल्यं न पराधीनवृत्तिता ।
ये पराधीनकर्माणो जीवन्तोऽपि ते मृताः ॥

"Though Rousseau believed that free citizenship impossible in any from of a larger state, it was inevitable under the circumstances that the sentiment which he aroused should result mainly in idealizing national patriotism" (Sabine, Political Theory, 1937, p. 593). National patriotism represents the reaction of mind upon its environment, when country, cow and culture were threatened–when the ṛishis like Dabhīti were carried away, cows were seized by Vṛitra and avaricious Paṇis threatened the country. Thus national patriotism rooted in the Vedas, is elaborately expounded in the Epics, Purāṇas and Smṛitis. Mahabharata has only one sole message to convey—

गृहे गृहे च राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः ।

Hence unity, as the basis of national solidarity and strength, was viewed to be the basic need of Bhārata Varsha – which was dear to all :—

सर्वेषामेव भूतानां प्रियं भारत भारतं ॥

It became the national ideal accomplished by Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa in the foundation of Yudhishṭhira's empire – one supreme government based on right and not on might, tyranny and terror. Vasishṭha hails it as Yaudhishṭhirīsthiti in the Early Medieval India. Kathāsarita Sāgara and Bṛihatkathā Mañjarī reiterate the Epic ideal of national unity in the age of Gaznavid aggressions to bar the roaring torrent of Turks and Tartārs.

Social inequalities and religious animosities stood in the way. Thinkers, too, knew it. They paved way for social harmony based on the equality of human race :—

मानुष्ये सति सामान्ये कोऽधमः कोऽथ चोत्तमः ॥

---

1. Mārkaṇḍeya P., CXXV.29.
2. Garuḍa P , I.CXV 37.

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Samkara prepared the ground for religious synthesis, which another ācharya Rāmānuja presented in the form of Bhakti. But it was, too, very novel, to devise a current of synthesis :

कथं पुनः स्वभाव प्रतिद्वन्द्विनामागमानां ।
तर्काणां च समवायः सम्पन्नः ॥

Prabodha Ch., p. 173.

Sages knew—

समानान्वयजातानां परस्पर विरोधिनाम् ।
परैः प्रत्यभिभूतानां प्रसूते संगतिः श्रियम् ॥

Ibid., V.8.

One Sole Supreme, Lord of the Universe, drew towards Himself, like ocean, all the currents of thought representing rivers due to the exigencies of the age—

येन वेद प्रसूतानां तेषामवान्तर विरोधेऽपि वेदसंरक्षणाय नास्तिक पक्ष प्रतिक्षेपणाय शास्त्राणां साहित्यमेव । आगमानां च तत्त्वविचारयतामविरोध एव । तथाहि— P.B. Ch., p. 174.

ज्योतिः शान्तमनन्तमद्वयमजं तत्तद्गुणोन्मीलना—
दब्रह्मेत्यच्युत इत्युमापतिरितिप्रस्तूयतेऽनेकधा ।
तैस्तैरेव सदागमैः श्रुतिमुखैर्नानापथप्रस्थितै—
र्गंभ्योऽसौ जगदीश्वरो जलनिधिर्वारां प्रवाहैरिव ॥

P.B. Ch , p. 175 V.9.

Thus the genius of Samskritists, who inspired and invigorated the national patriots to fight for freedom, has escaped the notice of modern scholars.

It is will of the God to which all submit. There is no appeal to His decrees. "Acknowledge Him in all thy ways and He shall direct thy path". Let us all combine to foster bonds of love and amity :

"Let life be what it is, no more.
No less than what it ought to be.
In naked birth, Oh, let it soar.
And shine in its own dignity.

Come, let us throw to winds this 'I',
Th' inheritance of ages past;
Let's dissipate this senseless cry,
And stare no more afraid, aghast.

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Let's wander on the floods of life—
To climes that boast not of an 'I';
Let's wander dauntless of the strife.
And conscious of eternity".

Such was a man in the days of yore, Bharata-Jaḍa Bharata, a Yogi, who stamped his glorious land with his philosophy of Yoga. To-day, too, its destiny and that of the entire human race is influenced by Philosopher-teacher-statesman, our revered President. It is His will that Modern Indian Republic has asserted itself for the survival of humanity.

It is an humble attempt – a sole struggle against the forces of 'ancien regime'. I am, conscious of my faults and failings—error is human. I acknowledge deep gratitude of the distingluished scholars whom I met on my way. Late Dr. R.K. Mukerji extended his hands of exhortation. Dr. Mukerji wrote "My dear Awadh Bihari.....I value your devotion to your Guru.....Your motto should be *Vidyāmṛitamaśnute* (19.4.53)". Dr. Mukerji's dream and desire for the elaboration of his pet theme – Nationalism in Hindu Culture (a monograph) could not materialise during his life-time. I never believed that he is in so hurry to conquer the *divaṁ*. However, I have brought to light fresh material from the old texts. My teacher, Dr. R.K. Dikshit also, often, expressed his desire that some body should write on this subject – Turkish conquest of India. I offer my respects to Prof. K.A.S. Iyer for showering his blessings and inspirations. His foreword, out of affection for a student, has put me under a deep sense of gratitude. I offer my thanks to Pt. Behari Lal Shukla of the Shukla Printing Press, Lucknow.

Jai Hind

**A. B. L. Awasthi**
8th December, 1964
42, Khurshed Bagh
Lucknow

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| A. A. R. | Annals And Antiquities Of Rājasthāna by Tod. |
| B. K. M. | Bṛihat Kathā Mañjarī |
| Cf. | Confer, Compare |
| Ch. D. | Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1958 |
| Ch. E. | Chambers Encyclopaedia, 15 vols. |
| C. H. I. | Cambridge History of India |
| C. H. I. II | Comprehensive History of India, vol. II. |
| C. I. I. | Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum |
| D. K. Ch. | (द० कु० च०) Daśa Kumāra Charita |
| E. and D. | Elliot & Dowson, History of India, Told By Its Own Historians |
| E. H. I. | Early History of India, V. Smith. |
| E. Ch. D. | Early Chauhān Dynasties |
| Garuda | GARUḌA PURĀṆA |
| H. Ch. | History of Chāhamānas, R. B. Singh |
| H. M. H. I. | History of Medieval Hindu India, C. V. Vaidya |
| I. C. O. | International Congress of Orientalists |
| INS. | Inscriptions |
| K. A. S. | Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Shamśāstry (English Translation) |
| K.S.S. or KSS | Kathāsarita Sāgara |
| M. G. | Sultan Mahmud of Gaznā by Prof. Mohammad Habib. |
| M. M. K. | Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa |
| M. R. | Mudrā Rākshasa of Viśākhadatta |
| MSS. | Manuscript [U. P. Historical Society's (Lucknow.) manuscript]. |
| MVC | Mahāvīra Charita of Bhavabhūti |

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| | |
|---|---|
| N. H. C. | Nationalism in Hindu Culture, by Dr. R. K. Mukerji |
| N. S. Ch. | Nava Sāḥasāṁka Charita |
| O. D. | Oxford Dictionary |
| P. | Parva or Purāṇa |
| P. B. Ch. / Prabodh Ch. | Prabodha Chandrodaya |
| P.V. or PV. | Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya |
| P. R. or R. | Prithvīrāja Rāso |
| Rājav | Rājavilāsa |
| Ram. | Rāmāyaṇa |
| R. E. | Rock Edicts |
| R. T. | Rājatarṁgiṇī |
| Rupshtk | Rūpakashaṭkaṁ. |
| R. V. | Ṛigveda |
| V. I. | Vedic India (Ragozin) |
| Vishṇu Dh. / V. D. R. | Vishṇu Dharmottaraṁ |
| Wonder India | Wonder That Was India, Dr. A. L. Basham |
| Y. V., Yv. | Yogavāsishṭha |

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## Chapter I

# VEDIC PATRIOTISM

Nationalism implies three words viz. nation, national and nationalism. "Nation" is a collective noun signifying a certain form of aggregation of individuals. National is the adjectival form, but it is sometimes used substantively to describe one of the individuals forming part of a nation".[1] ....'National' also represents an individual" attached to one's own country."[2] Hence nationalism means the "patriotic feeling or principles or efforts, and policy of independence."[3] Thus "nationalism means an enthusiasm for, devotion to, or cultivation of one nation in particular, while a nationalist is a person who feels such devotion or practises such cultivation."[4] It presupposes national consciousness—the consciousness of a common social heritage, traditions, country and culture which binds all the individuals to an organised government and state, working for the good of the people. Thus nationalism detirmines patriotism and the political consciousness of the people based on the spirit of liberty, fraternity and unity. The following Ṛigvedic hymn exhibits the highest sense of national spirit—the spirit of cooperation, concord and brotherhood :—

संगच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं स वो मनांसि जानताम् ।
देवा भागं यथापूर्वे संजानाना उपासते ।।
Rv. X. 191. 2.

समानी व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।
समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ।।
Rv. X. 191 4.

i.e. Let us all live together with love and fraternity, inspired by the spirit of unity, free from the idea of division or disunity ; let us all be engaged in the pursuit of truth,

---

1. Ch. E, Vol. IX, p. 677.
2. Ch. D., p. 712.
3. O. D. (Pocket). p. 520.
4. Ch. E., Vol. IX, p. 677.

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knowledge and piety; and we should all be inspired by the unity of purpose, ideal and ambition to work together as well as to live in harmony. The same idea of cooperation and corporate life inspired by the national feeling is also mentioned in the ATHARVA VEDA. It runs thus :—

संज्ञाननं स्वेभिः संज्ञान मरणेभिः ।
संज्ञान माश्विना युवमिहास्मासु नि यच्छताम् ॥
संज्ञान माश्विना युवमिहास्मासु नि यच्छताम् ॥
संजानामहै मनसा सं चिकित्त्वा मा युत्स्महि मनसा दैव्येन ।
मा घोषा उत्थुर्बहुले विनहिते मेषुःयप्तदिन्द्रस्याहन्या गते ॥

Thus the Vedic Saṁhitās paved way for unity and fraternity, solidarity and stability on one hand and, on the other hand, the hymns are permeated with a patriotic appeal to Indra to destroy their enemies. The cows were to be liberated from the clutches of Vṛitra, the demon. Indra, exterminator of the enemies, appeared to the rescue of the earth, shaken by Vṛitra, whom the former destroyed and thus liberated the Sapta-Sindhus (seven rivers) as well as the cows. Thus Indra, who like a ruler and protector of the Āryan people, forced demons (dāsaṁ varṇaṁ) to seek shelter in the caves[1]. Indra, the annihilator of the

1. Rv., II. 12. यो जात एव प्रथमो मनस्वान्देवो देवोन्क्रतुना पर्यभूषतू ।
यस्य शुष्माद्रोदसो अभ्यसेतां नृम्णस्य मह्ना स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥
यः पृथिवीं व्यथानामदंह्द्यः पर्वतान् प्रकुपितां अरम्णात् ।
यो अन्तरिक्षं विममे वरीयो यो द्यामस्तम्नात्सजनासइन्द्रः ॥ २ ॥
यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून्यो गा उदाजदपधावलस्य ।
यो अश्मनोरन्तरग्निं जजान सं वृक्समत्सु स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ३ ॥
येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहाकः ।
श्वघ्नीव यो जिगीवां लक्षमाददर्यः पुष्टानि स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ४ ॥
यं स्मा पृच्छन्ति कुह सेति घोरमुतेमाहुनैषौ अस्तीत्येनम् ।
सो अर्यः पुष्टीर्विज इवा मिनाति श्रदस्मैधत्त स जनास इन्द्र ॥ ५ ॥
यो रध्रस्य चोदिता यः कृशस्य यो ब्रह्मणो नाधामानस्य कीरेः ।
युक्तग्राव्णो योऽविता सुशिप्रः सुतसोमस्य स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ६ ॥
यस्याश्वासः प्रदिशि यस्य गावो यस्य ग्रामा यस्य विश्वे रथासः ।
यः सूर्यं य उषसं जजान यो अपां नेता स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ७ ॥

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dasyus stands as the champion of liberty and freedom-loving people.

Macdonnel observes that "The importance of Indra, the favourite and national god of the Vedic India, is indicated by the fact that more than one-fourth of the Ṛigveda sings the praises of his greatness. Primarily a thunder-god, he constantly appears as vanquishing the demon of drought and darkness called Vṛitra, the Obstructor, setting free the waters or winning the light. This is the essence of the mythology of which he is the centre."[1] He quotes the following stanzas illustrating his fight with the dragon :—

"I will proclaim the manly deeds of Indra,
The first that he performed, the lightning wielder,
He smote the dragon, then discharged the waters.
And cleft the caverns of the lofty mountains.
Plunged in the midst of never-ceasing torrents.
That stand not still, but ever hasten onwards,
The waters bore off Vṛitra's hidden body.
Indra's fierce foe sank down to lasting darkness"[2]

Prof. Macdonnell concludes:—

Indra thus became the god of battle who aided the invading Āryans in their conflicts with the aborigines. His combats are often called gavishṭi (literally desire of cows), equivalent in meaning to "cattle-raid."[3] It is true that Indra was a favourite and national god who gave protection to the distressed earth (pṛithivīṁ Vyathamānāṁ[4]) associated

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यं क्रन्दसी संयती विह्वयेते परेऽवर उभया अमित्राः ।
समानं चिद्रथमातस्थिवांसा नाना हवेते स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ८ ॥
यस्मान्न ऋते विजयन्ते जनासो यं युध्यमाना अवसे हवन्ते ।
यो विश्वस्य प्रतिमानं बभूव यो अच्युतच्युत्स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ९ ॥
यः शश्वतो महयेनो दधानानमन्यमानाञ्छर्वा जघान ।
यः शर्धतो नानुददाति शृध्यां यो दस्योर्हन्ता स जनास इन्द्रः ॥१०॥

आदि-आदि

1. India's past, p. 28.
2. Ibid., pp. 28—29.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Rv. II. 12.2.

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with the seven rivers (Sapta Sindhūn[1]). The cause of the distress to the people and the country of the Sapta- Sindha--vas lay in the conducts of demons like Vritra,[2] Śambara,[3] Chumuri and Dhuni[4], etc. who are all styled Dāsa, Dasyu and enemies.[5] These violent people are mentioned to have captured cows[6] as well as Ṛishi like Dabhīti[7] who was also defended by Indra.[8] These Dasyus are also stated to be hostile enemies who were avaricious and atheistic[9] devoted to wealth like Paṇis[10]. They are mentioned to have invaded the Āryans whose freedom and country was imperilled and hence Āryans prayed for help against these valiant foes:

त्वया वयमुत्तम धीमहे वयो बृहस्पते पप्रिणा सस्निना युजा ।
मा नो दुःशसो अभिदिप्सुरीशत प्रसुशसा मतिभिस्तारिषीमहि ॥
Rv. II. 23. 10

Here the enemies are stated to be internal and external and both of them were to be defeated and destroyed :—

या नो दूरे तलितो या अरातयऽभिसन्ति जम्भया ता अनप्नसः ।
Rv. II. 23.9.

Thus Indra, the national god of the Āryans of Sapta-Sindhavas was invoked by the latter for their own safety and security against the invasions of Dasyus and Paṇis, who were not aborigines. The Paṇis, identified with Phoenicians, are placed far away accross the many rivers where Saramā had gone as the female messenger of Indra (dūtī). Mr. Ragozin observes: "Logical and natural as the transition is, it adds very greatly to the difficulties of Vedic interpretation, because when Indra or Agni are be-

1. Ibid., II. 12.3.
2. Ibid., II, 11, 12, 13, 14 etc.
3. Ibid. II. 12. 11; II. 14. 6; II. 19. 6.
4. Ibid II. 15. 9.
5. Ibid. II. 12. 4; II. 12. 10; II. 13. 9.
6. Rv. II. 23. 10.
7. Ibid., II. 15. 9.
8. Ibid. II. 15.9.
9. Ibid. II. 23.15.
10. Ibid. II. 24.6.

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sought to drive away and annihilate the Dasyus, or are said to have destroyed the fastnesses of the Dasyus, it is frequently all but impossible to decide which "enemies" are meant—the earthly or the mythical ones[1]. Mr. Ragozin takes "the battle between Āryan champion-god and Dasyus" as a poetical version of the long race strife."[2] He asserts that "It is certain, at all events, that, in the enthusiasm and novelty of recent discovery, mythical interpretation has been greatly overdone, and, just as the word 'Dasyu' which was at first declared to designate only the demons (of darkness, drought or winter) whom the bright devas fought, it proved to apply quite same as often to earthly, human foes....."[3] But the enthusiasm led the modern scholars to believe that the Āryans had invaded the aborigines, though the hymns repeatedly and explicitly assert that the Ṛigvedic Āryans of the Sapta-Sindhavas were invaded by the ambitious and avaricious Dasyus, who wanted to rob the former of their liberty, wealth and culture. This single hymn (Rv. II. 12) clearly runs like a fervent appeal of the Ṛigvedic Āryans for their safety to Indra. They are also represented to have sent diplomatic mission to the country of the Paṇis negotiating for settlement. "We have an unusually detailed and complete narrative of such expedition in the Ṛigveda. The Paṇis—the avaricious traders and robbers—had stolen the milk-kine on which the race of men chiefly depends for nourishment. Indra prepared to go to their rescue in company with Bṛihaspati. But he first sent Saramā to reconnoitre. She went on 'the right path' and found the strong stable, a cave in the rock, through a cleft of which she heard the cows' lowing. She went on until she came across the Paṇi-robbers, between whom and herself there ensued the following dialogue, one of the most remarkable pieces in the Ṛigveda (X. 108). The Paṇis begin[4]:—

1. Zenaide A. Ragozin: Vedic India, p. 284.
2. Ibid., p. 293.
3. Ibid., pp. 293-294.
4. Ibid., pp. 256-257.

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**The Paṇis :**

'With what intention did Saramā reach this place ? For the way is far and leads tortuously away. What is thy wish with us ? Did'st travel safely ? (Or 'how was the night?') How did'st thou cross the waters of the Rasā ?'*

**Saramā :**

"I came sent as the messenger of Indra, desiring, O Paṇis, your great treasures. This preserved me from the fear of crossing, and thus I crossed the waters of the Rasā."

**The Paṇis :**

"Who is he ? What looks he like, this Indra, whose herald you have hastened from afar ? Let him come here, we will make friends with him, then he may be the herdsman of our cows."

**Saramā :**

"Ye cannot injure him, but he can injure, whose herald I have hastened from afar ? Deep rivers cannot overwhelm him; you, Paṇis, soon shall be cut down by Indra".

**The Paṇis :**

"Those cows, O Saramā, which thou cam'st to seek are flying round the ends of the sky. O darling, who would give up to thee without a fight ? for, in truth, our weapons too are very sharp."

**Saramā :**

"Not hurtful are your words, O Paṇis, and though your wretched bodies were arrow-proof, though the way to you be hard to go, little will Bṛihaspati care."

**Paṇis:**

'That store, O Saramā, is fast within the rock—'t is full

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* Ragozin holds: "The Rasā--a mythical river, deep and dangerous: the waters of darkness or of Death "Vedic India, p. 257, foot note 1 But it is an actual river placed in the hill-country to the north west beyond Indus. It has been identified with the river Ranhā of the Avesta. Yāska takes it to be a river.

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with the horses, cows, and treasures; Paṇis watch it who are good watchers; thou art come in vain....."

**Saramā :**

"The ṛishis will come here, fired with Soma, Ayasia, and the Aṅgiras, the Nine. They will divide this stable of cows. Then the Paṇis will spit out this speech (wish it unspoken)."

**The Paṇis :**

"Of a surety, Saramā, thou art come hither driven by the violence of the gods: let us make thee our sister; go not away again. We will give the part of the cows, O darling."

**Saramā :**

"I know nothing of brotherhood or sisterhood ; Indra knows it and the awful Aṅgiras. They seemed to me anxious for their cows when I came; therefore get away."[1]

The last sentence runs like 'quit India'—an ultimatum to the violent Paṇis to leave the country they had occupied. This dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis as well as the entire hymn addressed to Indra (Rv., II. 12.22) runs like the national poetry of the later times.[2] The next hymn, Sūkta 23 (Rv., II. 23) addressed to Brāhmaṇaspatī runs like the national prayer for all times to come and even to day every religious rite and act of piety begins with—

गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे ,

Such is the perennial current of national culture of the Vedic Āryans, characterised by its immortality and continuity, peace and piety, love and liberty and, above all, an equilibrium between materialism and spiritualism which is best exhibited in the following statement of the Yajurveda—

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुंजीथा मागृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

1. V. I., pp. 257-258; Rv. X. 108, which is here reproduced from Ragozin's Vedic India.
2. Cf. Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya or Pṛithvīrāja Rāso.

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कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छत समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथे तोस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥
.....४० । १.२

A few examples cited above show the zealous spirit of nationalism or patriotism among the Vedic Āryans.

Thus we see that Indian nationalism and a spirit of fraternity, liberty, as well as equality is also rooted in the Vedas, the national literature of the Hindus, who struggled hard for the protection of Vedas as well as for the preservation of the Vedic way of life and thought "The very first factor of national-building being an absorbing passion for the place of one's birth,.....For instance, in the vedic literature we have a most remarkable passage in the Atharvaveda called the Pṛithvīsūkta, which is a string of about sixty three impassioned hymns to the motherland. Praises are sung of the mother country as the land girt by the sea and fertilized by the rivers that pour down their bounty in streams of plenty, the land of hills and snowy mountain and forests giving protection to her sons "unharassed, unsmitten, and unwounded," the all producing mother of herbs maintained by the auspicious and the pleasant ; the land where our forefathers lived and worked, where the Asuras succumbed to the might of the Devas; the land of agriculture, of kine, of horses, of birds, of elephants; the land "bearing in many places people of different speech, of diverse customs according to their homes, yet yielding a thousand streams of property like a steady, unresisting milch-cow[1]." Dr. Mukerji observes that "The last passage is indeed highly significant for the unique note it strikes–remarkable for that age–showing a seer's grasp of the fundamental conditions of national building in this land of 'many peoples of different speech and diverse customs'. And yet in supremely patriotic spirit as a source of national strength, of that richer and fuller unity in which all diversities lose themselves with their several contributions towards the development of a common life, even as 'a thousand streams merge themselves in the

1. N.H.C. p. 13.

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sea."[1] Thus the ideal of devotional attachment to the country is based on the motherly treatment of the earth and the same view is upheld in the Atharvaveda :

"Mātā bhūmiḥ putro'haṁ pṛithivyāḥ."

Atharvaveda (XII. 1.12).

Thus it is true that "it is the Vedic Literature alone that provides us a faithful history of Indian Culture and patriotism."[2]

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1. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
2. Summaries of papers, 26th International Congress of Orientalists (New Delhi, 1964), p. 143.

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## Chapter II

# PATRIOTISM IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

Rāmāyaṇa is an exalted work of our national heritage. It has inspired and influenced the entire Hindu life and thought. Its story based on the ideal life of Rāma, the Dharma-incarnate, had influenced even the history and culture of Greater India. It presents the high ideals of our Patriotism.

The country is held in great esteem. The sacred land is styled Dharaṇī-devī[1] or Vasudhā-devī.[2] It was vast and extensive country (Pṛithivīṁ sphītāṁ),[3] which fulfilled all the desires of the people (sarvakāmadughā mahī),[4] for it was rich and prosperous (pṛithivī susampannā).[5] It was, consequently, styled Vasumatī,[6] Vasudhā,[7] or Vasuṁdharā[8] which extended upto the sea coast (Samudrāṁtāṁ medinīṁ).[9] It assumed, hence, the popular epithet of Sāgara-mekhalāṁ)[10] i.e., wearing the girdle of seas. Thus the Rāmāyaṇa not only upholds the geographical and political Unity[11] of the country, but also it exhibits the country's economic potentialities, which all combined to make it a fine country (abhirāmā mahī)—

जाता वनान्ता: शिखिसुप्रनत्ता , जाता: कदम्बा: सकदम्बशाला: ।
जाता वृषा गोषु समानकामा , जाता मही सस्यवनाभिरामा ॥

Kishkiṁdhā Kāṇḍa, XXVIII. 26.

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1. Uttara-Kāṇḍa, XCVII. 19.
2. Ibid, XCVIII. 6.
3. Ibid, XXXIV. 6.
4. Ibid, LXXXIV, 7.
5. Ibid, LXXXIV, 8.
6. Yuddha Kāṇḍa LXIX. 53.
7. Ibid, LXV. 48; LXIX. 63; Kishkiṁdhā Kāṇḍa V. 5.
8. Ibid, IV. 91; Suṁdara Kāṇḍa; XXXV. 24; Kishkiṁdhā Kāṇḍa III, 13, LXI. 8.
9. Suṁdara Kāṇḍa, XVI. 3.
10. Ibid, XXXVI. 13.
11. It was a Chakravartī-Kshetra, hence it was a political unit.

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Such was the beautiful country, the charms of which made the traders and travellers, living abroad, to think of their celebrated country, the sweet home—

प्रवासिनो यान्ति नराः स्वदेशान्
Kishkiṅdhā kāṇḍa, XXVIII. 15.

It shows the love of the people towards their Janmabhūmi, which was equally contemplated by the Lord Vishṇu before his coming to this earth.[1]

Rāmāyaṇa, too, extolls this country as Karambhūmi, the land of pious acts.[2] Hence it was adored by the people and princes alike. Before the rise of sun, Vāli used to go round the country, from the Western Sea to the Eastern Sea and from the South to the North—

समुद्रात् पश्चिमात् पूर्वं दक्षिणादपि चोत्तरम् ।
क्रामत्यनुदिते सूर्ये वाली व्यपगतक्लमः ॥
Kishkiṅdhā Kāṇḍa XI. 4.

It evidently refers to the sacred rite of circumambulation round the earth It was the regular course of his prayers and devotional worship offered to the four seas :

चतुर्म्योऽपि समुद्रेभ्यः संध्यामन्वास्य रावण ।
इदं मुहूर्तमायाति वाली तिष्ठ मुहूर्तकम् ॥
Uttara Kāṇḍa, XXXIV. 6.

But Rāvaṇa did not wait. He proceeded to the Southern Sea, where he found Vāli engaged in the religious worship and prayers.[3] Rāvaṇa failed in his venture to get hold of Vāli and the latter captured the former and then he successfully performed his religious duties of offering worship to all the seas, viz., the Western Sea, Northern Sea and the

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1. Bāla kāṇḍa, XV., 30 (ii):
एवं दत्त्वा वरं देवो देवानां विष्णुरात्मवान् ।
Ibid., XV. 31 (i):
मानुष्ये चिन्तयामास जन्मभूमिमथात्मनः ॥

2. Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, CIX. 28.

3. Uttara Kāṇḍa, XXXIV. 12.

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Eastern Sea.[1] This journey to all the four seas,[2] surrounding our country, with the spirit of piety and devotion, reflects the esteem in which the country was held in the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. Hanūmāna is also stated to have offered his salutations to the ocean.[3] On his return from the exile, Rāma asked Vaidehī to offer her salutations to Ayodhyā.[4] The confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā was likewise saluted with respects by Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, as they were asked to do it by Viśvāmitra.[5] Thus it is apparent that patriotism became a faith which led the people and princes to bow low before the country and its constituent units.

The age of the Rāmāyaṇa reflects the troubled condition of the country which was harassed by the demons. Hence Rāma descended upon the earth to relieve it of the miseries. In such circumstances patriotism and national consciousness was an urgent need of the hour, and we find that the Rāmāyaṇic spirit of patriotism inspired the later poets and authors to compose such works as were suited to their respective epochs. It inspired even the foreign artists to portray Bhārata-mātā.[6]

Dr. V. S. Agrawala drew our attention to a beautifully carved silver dish bearing a strikingly original representation of India as a woman seated on a chair supported on elephant tusks. This dish is now preserved in Istanbul

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1. Uttara Kāṇḍa, XXXIV. 27-33.
2. Ibid, XXXIV, 37.
3. Yuddha Kāṇḍa, LXXIV. 48:

   नमस्कृत्वा समुद्राय मारुतिभीमविक्रमः ।
   राघवार्थे परं कर्म समीहत परंतपः ।।

4. Ibid. C XXIII. 55:

   एषा सा दृश्यते सीते राजधानी पितुर्मम ।
   अयोध्यां कुरु वैदेहि प्रणामं पुनरागता ।।

5. Bāla Kāṇḍ, XXIV. 11:

   वारिसंक्षोभजो राम प्रणामं नियतः कुरु ।
   ताभ्यां तु तावुभौ कृत्वा प्रणाममतिधार्मिकौ ।।

6. Journal U. P. Historical Society, Vol. XVI, Part 2 (Dec. 1942), p. 3.

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Museum of Antiquities.[1] Warmington assigns the dish to the first or second century A. D.,[2] roughly synchronising with the epoch of Rāmāyaṇa in its present form. Dr. Agrawala rightly took it to be a representation of Mother India.[3]

Like the other exalted elements of our heritage, the earth was, too, raised to the status of divinity. She is held high in esteem as the consort of Vāsudeva i.e., Lakshmī, who is supported by the former.[4] Hence it was the most sacred duty of the kings to give protection to their country, making it healthy and happy like their own wives.[5]

Such was the greatness and sanctity of this unique country (esha deśaḥ sa kākutstha) which received the homage and service of Mahendra (Mahendrādhyushitaḥ purā)[6]. I am here led to equate it with the following inscriptional verse of Tumain Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I[7]—

श्री चन्द्रगुप्तस्यमहेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्समग्राम् ।
ररक्ष साध्वीमिवधर्मपत्नीम् वीर्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् ।।

The epoch of Rāmāyaṇa, in our present form, represents the age of Śaka-Sātavāhanas in its earlier strata and that of the Imperial Guptas at its apex. "The period between the downfall of the Imperial Mauryas and the rise of the Gupta

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1. J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XVI, Part 2 (Dec. 1943), p. 3.
2. Ibid, vide 'The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India', 1928, p. 143.
3. Ibid, p. 6.
4. Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla kāṇḍa, XL. 2-3:

   यस्येयं वसुधा कृत्स्ना वासुदेवस्य धीमतः ।
   महिषी माधवस्येषा स एव भगवान् प्रभुः ।। २ ।।
   कापिलं रूपमास्थाय धारयत्यनिशं धराम् ।
   तस्य कोपाग्निना दग्धा भविष्यन्ति नृपात्मजाः ।। ३ ।।

5. Ibid, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, III. 45.
   Cf. Tumain Inscription of Kumāragupta I, G. E. 116; Sircar, Select Inscriptions p. 495, line 2:

   श्रीचंद्रगुप्तस्यमहेंद्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्समग्राम् ।
   ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीम् वीर्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्यभूमिम् ।।

6. Bāla Kāṇḍa, XLVII. 10.
7. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, I, p. 495, L. 2.

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emperors marks a crisis in India's social history.....The situation was somewhat complicated by the influx of large hordes of foreigners.....The first reactions to these changes are met with in the contemporary Brāhmnical work..... Brāhmanism again, found in some of the ruling houses of Northern India and Deccan zealous patrons, who upheld its social and religious practices.....Thus it prepared itself for its crowning triumph in the age of Imperial Guptas."[1] Gupta inscriptions eulogise Rāghava[2] and Vishṇu who exterminated the serpent-kings. Skanda Gupta, himself, knocked down his enemies and made subject to himself the whole earth bounded by the waters of the four oceans, and his fame, lay in the conquest of the Mlechchhas.....[3] Vārāha form of Chandra Gupta (II, Vikramāditya) upheld the sanctity and majesty of the earth troubled by the Mlechchhas[4]—a wonderful scene translated by the Gupta artists at Bhitargaon (temple, Kanpur) and Udaigiri (near Bhilsa). Thus the motif of Vārāha-līlā became a popular theme of ancient India. Rāmāyaṇa exhibits its knowledge of Pahlavas, Śakas and Yavanas and their hold on the country.[5] Rāmāyaṇa also points out towards the rescue of Vasuṁdharā by the same Varāha,[6] who was none else than Rāma,[7] the national hero[8] of this country and its culture. Rāmāyaṇa asserts that even the seas do not violate the boundaries of the country.[9] With the depth of emotions

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1. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II (1956), p. 458.
2. Eran Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta, L. 1.
3. Junāgarh Rock Ins. of Skanda Gupta, verses 1-4.
4. Cf. Bharata Vākya of Mudrārākshasa of Viśākhadatta; VII. 19.
5. Bāla Kāṇḍa, LIV. 18-21.
6. Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, CX. 3 :

   स वराहस्ततो भूत्वा प्रोज्जहार वसुंधराम् ।

7. Araṇya kāṇḍa, XXXI. 24 :

   असौ रामस्तु सीदन्तीं श्रीमानम्युद्धरेन्महीम् ।।

8. Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, XII. 44; XXIII. 28.
9. Ibid., CII 11 :

   भवत्वविधवा भूमिः समग्रा पतिना त्वया ।
   शशिना विमलेनेव शारदी रजनी यथा ।।

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Bharata characterises the country deserted and devoid of charm like a widow in the absence of Rāma. Bharata's fidelity cannot be doubted and no poetic genius can surpass that of Vālmīki, when he portrays the country enveloped in the darknight of distress devoid of moon. Bharata hails the return of Rāma as the advent of happiness by saying :

यावदावर्वते चक्रं यावती च वसुन्धरा ।
तावत् त्वमिह लोकस्य स्वामित्वमनुवर्तय ।।
Yuddha Kāṇḍa, CXXVIII. 11

Vasuṅdharā, incarnate, received her Lord with open arms. The waters of the 4 seas and all the rivers of the country sprinkled on Rāma in the presence of sages and seers at the time of his coronation marked the dawn of national rule styled Rāma-rājya-dream of Gandhi ji which aimed to bring happiness to all :

नित्यमूला नित्यफलास्तरवस्तत्र पुष्पिता: ।
कामवर्षी च पर्जन्य: सुखस्पर्शश्च मारुत: ।।
Yuddha kāṇḍa, CXXVIII. 103.

But it was based on the selfless service as well as spirit of concord and cooperation extended by all the limbs of socio-politic body with their conscientious minds :

ब्राह्मणा: क्षत्रिया वैश्या: शूद्रा लोभवर्जिता: ।
स्वकर्मसु वर्तन्ते तुष्टा: स्वैरेव कर्मभि: ।।
Yuddha kāṇḍa, CXXVIII. 104.

आसन प्रजा धर्मपरा रामे शासति नानृता: ।
सर्वे लक्षणसम्पन्ना: सर्वेधर्मपरायणा: ।।
Ibid, CXXVIII. 105.

Of all the duties enjoined on the princes and people alike, the conscientious observance and devotional adherence to 'deśadharma' was felt and imperative supreme :

क्वचि शस्त्रं क्व च वनं क्व च क्षात्रं तप: क्व च ।
व्याविद्धमिदमस्माभि देशधर्मस्तु पूज्यताम् ।।
Araṇya Kāṇḍa, X. 27.

Deśa-dharma enjoins to serve the country with

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motherly-devotion and religious faith which is exhibited by the rite of circumambulation round the earth.[1]

It was only for the love of the country and people (Rāmaṁ prakṛiti-Vatsalaṁ), that Rāma had in his heart highest regard for the good of the country and culture :

गोब्राह्मणहितार्थाय देशस्य च हितायच ।

Bāla kāṇḍa, XXVI. 5 (1)

It was also the traditional duty of the Kshatriya kings:

राज्यभारनियुक्तानामेष धर्मः सनातनः

Bāla kāṇḍa, XXV. 19 (i)

Rāma asserts, as such, the efficacy of bow, an inseparable weapon of the Kshatriyas, who stood as the champions of the deserted and distressed people :

क्षत्रियैर्धार्यते चापे नार्तशब्दो भवेदिति ।।

Araṇya Kāṇḍa, X. 3.

Rāma stands, for all times, as the typical saviour of the earth which consequently takes refuge with him:

रामस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे सपद्मा श्रीरुपस्थिता ।
सव्येऽपि च महीदेवी व्यवसायस्तथाग्रतः ।।

Uttara Kāṇḍa CIX. 6.

Thus Rāma represents our national hero and the account of his life, the Rāmāyaṇa, is verily the perennial source of patriotism and national consciousness which invigorated the Hindu Medieval thought.

Uttarakāṇḍa, as we have it at present, is the work of early Medieval India, roughly the age of Gurjara-Pratihāras when the race of the Ikshvākus, the Pratihāras, rose to defend the gates of India like Saumitri, the brother of Paulastya—himsri, Rāma. But the struggle between the two forces viz., wild and intoxicated elephants (mātaṅgas) as well as the saviours against the onslaughts of former-the lions–had begun in the times of Uttara kāṇḍa, which like the other Saṁskrit works

1. Varāha Purāṇa, CLIX. 2-13.
Mahābhārata, Mahāprasthānika Parva, 1.29-56.

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of the age depicts the struggle between Simha and Elephant-rākshasas. Rāma representing the former, destroyed the latter :

सिंहार्दितानामिव कुंजराणां निशाचराणां सह कुंजराणां ।
रवाश्च वेगाश्च समं बभूवु: पुराणसिंहेन विमर्दितानाम् ।।

Uttara Kāṇḍa, VII. 52.

Pṛithvīrāja III, the Chāhamāna ruler styled Bhārateśvara, is depicted by Jayānaka in the Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, as the incarnation of Rāma, who appeared upon the earth to relieve this country of the violence of the Matta-mātaṅgas, the Mlechchhas. Thus, in brief, we see that Rāmāyaṇa inspired the hearts of subsequent generations of Bhāratī saṅtati and infused in them an undying spirit of patriotism, till our own age.

Rāmāyaṇic patriotism and national struggle against the Rākshasas was based on the social harmony and communal concord which alone can lead this country to progress and prosperity. Buddha, himself, asserted:

अयं जंबूदीपो इद्धो चेव भविस्सति फीतो च ।
कुक्कुट सम्पातिता गामनिगमराजधानियो ।।

Dīgha Nikāya, III, p. 59, Lines 26, 27.
(Ed. Jagdish Kashyapa)

Namaḥ Pṛithivyai Karmabhūmyai.

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## Chapter III

# PATRIOTISM IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA*

अत्र गाथा भूमि गीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः
Ānu Śāsana P., LXII. 34.

The patriotic conception of Mother Earth has always stimulated the nationalist principles of the Hindus and the same spirit of patriotism has been inspiring the nationalist movements in India. But this sense of nationalism was based on the unity as well as the independence of the country. Very often, the lack of the former imperilled the latter and the loss of freedom proved to be a whet stone of Indian patriotism.

The Mahābhārata, an encyclopaedia of Hindu culture and civilisation, gives us a national anthem which asserts that Bhāratavarsha is a country of great heroes, the Kshatriya Kings viz. Indra, Manu, Pṛithu, Ikshvāku, Yayāti, Ambarīsha, Māṇdhātā, Nahusha, Muchukuṇda Śibi-Auśīnara, Ṛishabha, Aila, Nṛiga, Kuśika, Dilīpa and others—dear to all:

अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।
प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य च ॥ भीष्म पर्व ९ । ५
पृथोस्तु राजन्वैन्यस्य तथेक्ष्वार्कोमहात्मनः ।
ययातेरम्बरीषस्य मान्धार्तुनहुषस्य च ॥ वही ९ । ६
तथैव मुचुकुन्दस्य शिबेरौशीनरस्य च ।
ऋषभस्य तथैलस्य नृगस्य नृपतेस्तथा ॥ वही ९ । ७
कुशिकस्य च दुर्धर्ष गाधेश्चैव महात्मनः ।
सोमकस्य च दुधर्ष दिलीपस्य तथैव च ॥ वही ९ । ८
अन्येषां च महाराज क्षत्रियाणां बलीयसाम् ।
सर्वषामेव राजेन्द्र प्रियं भारत भारतम् ॥ वही ९ । ९

This national anthem of the Epic Age is reproduced in the Padma Purāṇa (Ādi khaṇḍa, VI. 2-6) with a slight change, conspicuously in the last line which runs :—

सर्वेषामेव भूतानाम् प्रियं भारतमुत्तमम् ॥ पद्म पु०, आदि खंड ६ । ६

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Thus, we see that Bhārata, the most exalted country was dear to all the people. Wassaf, too, observes: "India according to the concurrent opinion of all writers, is the most agreeable abode on the earth and the most pleasant quarter of the world. Its dust is purer than air, and its air purer than purity itself; its delightful plains resemble the gardens of paradise, and the particles of its earth are like rubies and corals, (Elliot and Dowson, History of India Vol. III, p. 28). Such was the glory of Bhāratavarsha which was loved by all.

While commenting on the armies arrayed for war due to the avaricious and ambitious nature of Duryodhana, Sañjaya observes, that there were many other kings who, too, felt envious of other rulers.[1] It was this mutual envy of the Kshatriyas, that made Sañjaya think of the past, when this sacred land was held dear by gods like Indra as well as by great Kshatriya Kings mentioned above. Thus Sañjaya tried to inspire and infuse the love of this country in the mind of Dhṛitrāshṭra by reciting this patriotic song of Bhāratavarsha, which was the abode of Āryas, Mlechchhas and the people of mixed class.[2] Sañjaya asserts that this land is like a milch-cow fulfilling all the three human-ends and desires. It is for the earth that kings indulge themselves in mutual fights. The earth is the source of sustenance and support to all the creatures, Sañjaya asserts that these greedy kings quarreled among themselves like dogs and never

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१. धृतराष्ट्र उवाच :—
यदिदं भारतं वर्षं यत्रेदं मूर्छितं बलम् ।
यत्रातिमात्रलुब्धोऽयं पुत्रो दुर्योधनो मम् ।। भीष्म पर्व ९.१
यत्र गृद्धाः पाण्डुपुत्रा यत्र मे सज्जते मनः ।
एतन्मे तत्त्वमाचक्ष्व त्वं हि मे बुद्धिमान् मतः ।। वही, ९.२
न तत्र पाण्डवा गृद्धाः श्रुणु राजन् वचो मम् ।
गृद्धो दुर्योधनस्तत्र शकुनिश्चापिसौबलः ।। वही, ९.३
अपरे क्षात्रियाश्चैव नाना जनपदेश्वराः ।
ये गृद्धा भारते वर्षे न मृष्यन्ति परस्परम् ।। वही, ९.४

२. आर्या म्लेच्छाश्च कौरव्य तैर्मिश्राः पुरुषा विभो ।। वही, ९.१३

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their ambition and lust for the land is satisfied. Similarly the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas are also mentioned to have met there for fighting.[1] Sañjaya further presents the highest ideal of patriotism when he asserts that the land, properly visualised in its true form and features, represents the God, father, mother, sons, celestial home and paradise:

पिता भ्राता च पुत्राश्च रवं द्यौश्च नरपुंगव ।
भूमिर्भवति भूतानां सम्यगच्छिद्रदर्शना ।। भीष्म प० ९ । ७६

Such was the sanctity of this land where our ancestors performed many acts of piety and it is the same cherished land called Bhāratavarsha where we live:

इदं तु भारतं वर्षं यत्र वर्तामहे वयम् ।
पुर्वैः प्रवर्तितं पुण्यं तत् सर्वं श्रुतवानसि ।। भीष्म प० १२ । ५२

It was a geographical unit marked by the 7 Kula-parvatas and rivers which were deified like universal mothers (Viśvasya mātaraḥ sarvā).[2] The sacred country (puṇyatamo deśaḥ)[3] comprising fine provinces, rivers, mountains, forests, and water-falls[4] is styled Karmabhūmi,[5] and Karma-kshetra.[6] Sages of the past have eulogised this earth and here the Epic refers to Bhūmigītā[7] Its knowledge brings celestial bliss to one and his ancestors, for the earth is the source and material cause of all the creatures.[8] Nay, unparalled and matchless, earth

1. Bhīshma P., IX. 1-2.
2. Ibid., IX. 37.
3. Anu Śāasana Parva, p. 5994.
   यश्च पुण्यतमोदेश :
4. Ibid., CXLII. 1, 2.
5. Ibid., CXVIII. 4.
6. Ibid., CXXV. 1.
7. Ibid., LXII. 34:
   अत्र गाथा भूमिगीता: कीर्तयन्ति पुराविद: ।
   पुनाति य इदं वेद वेदवादं तथेव च ।
8. Ibid., LXII. 38:
   प्रकृति: सर्वभूतानां भूमिर्वैश्वानरीमता ।।

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represents the mother and father of the entire people,[1] who are born upon the earth and are, likewise, buried in the earth which is the basis of the entire life and creation.[2] Hence she has always been regarded as the mother of all the creatures (mātaraṁ sarva bhūtānāṁ)[3] which was adored even by Kṛishṇa.

Bhāratavarsha, a vast and wealthy country,[4] had been inhabited by people of numerous castes and clans.[5] It comprised many janapadas and deśas, rivers and forests.[6] But the great Epic presents India as a physical and cultural Unit. Earlier, in the age of Mahābhārata every home represented a state engaged in the selfish motives and sordid pursuits and the country lacked a paramount power as well as political unity.[7] Hence Kṛishṇa felt the necessity of establishing one sole empire under the sovereignty of Yudhishṭhira[8] and this task was well accomplished by the Lord Vāsudeva. The sovereignty of Yudhishṭhira was established over the entire country bounded by the four seas and even beyond them. Thus Yuddhishṭhira ruled over the entire country which was turned into a political unit (Pṛithvīṁ ekachhatrāṁ).[9] Kṛishṇa also offered respects to

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1. Ibid., LXII. 50 :
   एषा माता पिता चैव जगतः पृथिवीपते ।
   नानया सदृशं भूतंकिंचिदस्ति जनाधिप ॥
2. Ibid., LXII. 49 :
   भूमौ जायन्ति पुरुषा भूमौ निष्ठां व्रजन्ति च ।
   चतुर्विधो हि लोको ऽयं यऽयं भूमि गुणात्मकः ॥
3. Ibid., XXXIV. 21
4. एषः देशः सुविस्तीर्णः प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् ॥ उद्योग पर्व १९.३१
5. वसन्ति तेषु सत्वानि नाना जातीनि सर्वशः ।
   इदं तु भारतं वर्षं ततो हैमवतं परम् ॥ भीष्म पर्व ६.७
6. Chapter IX of Bhīshma Parva.
7. गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः ।
   न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते सम्राट्छब्दो हि कृच्छ्रू भाक् ॥ सभा पर्व १५.१
8. समुच्छेदं च कृत्स्नं नः कृत्वा तात जनार्दनः ।
   एक राज्यं कुरूणां स्म चिकीर्षति युधिष्ठरे ॥ उद्योगपर्व ५५.१०
9. Sabhā P., L. 19 :
   सर्वां च पृथिवीं चैव युधिष्ठिर वशानुगाम् ।
   Anuśāsana P., p. 6011 :
   एकोऽपि पृथिवीं कृत्स्नामेकच्छत्रां प्रशास्ति च ॥

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earth. (Madhusūdanaḥ medinīṁ pratyapūjayat)[1] Bhīshma asserts that such a bountiful earth (as ours) which is a source of our material and spiritual progress is worthy of praises and prayers :

स्तोतव्या चेह पृथिवी निवापस्येह धारिणी ॥
वैष्णवी काश्यपी चेति तथैवहाक्षयेति च ॥

Anu Śāsana Parva, XCI. 25.

Such was the exalted country named Bhāratavarsha ruled by Yudhishṭhira with the help of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna :

एवं भारतवर्षं स्वं राजा स्वर्गं सुरेन्द्रवत् ।
शशास विष्णुना सार्धं गुप्तो गांडीवधन्वना ॥

Aśvamedhika Parva, XIV p. 613.

In the above verse, 'Svaṁ' (i.e. 'his own') and 'Svargaṁ' (i.e. 'heavenly'), the adjectival terms associated with Bhāratavarsha reflect the highest sense of patriotism towards Svadeśa Bhārata. The next line is still more important, as it asserts the administrative principles of our national growth and solidarity. It asserts that this sacred country of ours blessed with heavenly pleasures can be governed by a pious king like Yudhishṭhira through the astute diplomacy of Krishṇa and military prowess of Arjuna. The same idea is further asserted :

यत्र योगेश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम् ॥

Bhīshma Parva XLII 78
(Śrīmad Bhagavadgita XVIII 78)

i.e. 'Rājaśrī', conquests, and wealth depend on the combination of mind and body, employed to the service and stability of this venerable land.

Mahābhārata further exhibits, in an unique manner, the highest sense of devotion and dedication, service and sacrifice, as well as patriotism and nationalism when we find the Epic heroes performing the sacred rite of circumambulation[2] round this celebrated land before their Great-

1. Anuśāsana P., XXXIV. 30.
2. Mahāprasthānika, Parva 1. 29-46.

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departure (Mahāprasthāna) :

उदीचीं पुनरावृत्य ययुर्भरत सत्तमाः ।
प्रादक्षिण्यं चिकीर्षन्तः पृथिव्या योगधर्मिणः ॥

Mahāprasthānika Parva, I. 46.

'Here patriotism is identified with svadharma towards Svadeśa which is mentioned above as Svargaṁ and it is a practical form of cherished patriotism. Yudhishṭhira abdicated the kingdom placing Parīkshit on the throne of Hastināpura. He also took leave of the sages and the poeple of his state before retiring to the forest. In the midst of people's shrieks and sobbings, the Pāṇḍavas left their capital to pay their respectful visits to the sacred rivers and countries of Bhāratavarsha. First they went to east extending upto the sea and similarly to the south and to the west upto Dvārakā. Thence they marched to north, thus completing their pradakshiṇā of the earth.[1] It is truly novel and unique in the entire history of human race. They loved the country with devotion.[2] Such is the unique importance of Bhārata and Mahābhārata :

भरतानां महज्जन्म तस्माद् भारतमुच्यते ॥
महत्त्वाद् भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते ॥

Svargārohaṇa Parva, V. 45.

It is styled Jaya-Bhārata which is aimed to bring Śrī, Kīrti and Vidyā. It has always aroused in minds of the Hindus a sense of dedication to the feet of Bhāratamātā. May, once again, victory (vijaya Śri) grace this holy land. The sages do not feel disturbed in the midst of troubles and terrors.[3] Bhārata is to live and live like a tall tower of light dispelling, once again, the ignorance and darkness from the region of Bālukārṇava (desert of Gobī) by her contact with

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1. Mahāprasthānika p. Chap. I.
2. Ibid., Chap. III.
3. Svargārohaṇa Parva, V. 61 :

हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि भयस्थानशतानि च ।
दिवसे दिवसे मूढमाविशन्ति न पंडितम् ॥

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Dharmarāja.[1] The modern rulers of China are reminded of the message of piety stamped on the history and culture of the great country :

ऊर्ध्वं बाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे ।
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते[2] ॥

We should not violate Dharma—The Dharma eternal :

न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद्
धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः
नित्यो धर्मः सुख दुःखे त्वनित्ये
जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्य त्वनित्यः[3]

That is the spirit of Hindu civilisation which is embodied in the philosophy of Gītā

"Svadharme nidhanaṁ śreyaḥ,
paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ."

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1. The Rāshṭrapati of Bhārata, Dr. Radha Krishnan, a philosopher-sage and friend of all, symbolises the philosophy of patriotism as well as universal fraternity. The day is not far off when his message of piety must prevail on the tāmsī Vṛitti of the Chinese rulers of today.
2. Svargārohaṇa Parva V. 62.
3. Ibid., V. 63.

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## Chapter IV

# PAURĀṆIC PATRIOTISM

कर्मभूमिरियं ब्रह्मन् । फलभूमिरसौ स्मृता ॥
अग्नि पुराण ३६९ । ६

Thus the ancient tradition, embodied in the Vedas and the Epics, the national literature of the Hindus, extols Bhāratavarsha for its material prosperity and religious sanctity bestowed upon the people. Purāṇas also hold that this country derived its name from the emperor Bharat, a great ruler of this country.[1] Vishṇu Purāṇa asserts that here alone one can attain the divine bliss and material pleasures viz., Svarga and Moksha etc., as it is best suited for the performance of pious deeds. Consequently it is styled Karmabhūmi.[2]

इतः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यं चान्तश्च गम्यते ।
न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां कर्मभूमौ विधीयते ॥
Vishṇu P., II. 3. 5

And this is the most exalted country of Jambūdvīpa—

अत्रापि भारतं श्रेष्ठं जम्बूद्वीपे महामुने ।
यतो हि कर्मभूरेषा ह्यतोऽन्या भोगभूमयः ॥
Vishṇu P., II. 3. 22.

This is a sacred land where the people of pious deeds alone are born as human beings.[3] Even the gods sing the songs of her praises. They say that "happy and fortunate are those, who are born here as human beings." They themselves prefer to be born as human beings here in this country discarding their divine abodes of heaven, for they

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1. Vishṇu Purāṇa II. 1. 32 (1) :
ततश्च भारतं वर्षम् तल्लोकेषु गीयते ।
2. Skanda Purāṇa II. 37. 58 :
अत्रधर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां अर्जनं अन्यत्र भोगभूमिश्च ॥
3. Vishṇu Purāṇa II. 3. 23.

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do not know as to where they would be born, again, after the expiry of their heavenly deeds:

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि धन्यास्तु ये भारत भूमि भागे ।
स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥
Vishṇu P., II. 3. 24

कर्माण्यसंकल्पिततत्फलानि संन्स्य विष्णौ परमात्मभूते ।
अवाप्य तां कर्ममहीमनन्ते तस्मिंल्लयं ते त्वफलाः प्रयान्ति ॥
Ibid., II. 3. 25

जानीम नैतत्क्व वयं विलीने स्वर्गप्रदे कर्मणि देहबन्धम् ।
प्राप्स्याम धन्याः खलु ते मनुष्या ये भारते नेन्द्रियविप्रहीनाः ॥
Ibid., II. 3. 26.

The entire earth with its forests, mountains, rivers and seas as well as the astral world represents Vishṇu:

यदम्बु वैष्णवः कायस्ततो विप्र वसुन्धरा ।
पद्माकारा समुद्भूता पर्वताब्ध्यादि संयुता ॥
Vishṇu Puraṇa., II. 12. 37.

ज्योतिषि विष्णुर्भुवनानि विष्णुर्वनानि विष्णुर्गिरयो दिशश्च ।
नद्यः समुद्राश्च स एव सर्वं यदस्ति यन्नास्ति च विप्रवर्य ॥
Ibid., II. 12. 38.

Thus the entire creation was looked upon as Vishṇu-maya.[1] Vishṇu Purāṇa also refers to the strong ties of attachment to one's own janmabhūmi which none can forget :

तथापि केन वा जन्मभूर्मिन स्मर्यते ।
Vishṇu P., II. 12. 38.

Kūrma Purāṇa also extols Bāratavarsha as a sacred Karmabhūmi, a land of diverse castes, creed, and colours

1. Vishṇu P., II. 12, 39,

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as well as 7 Kulaparvatas.[1] Thus it exhibits unity in the midst of diversities. Bhārata is also noted for the four age cyles viz. yugas[2] and here people were healthy, hapyy and prosperous.[3]

According to Vāyu Purāṇa, Bhāratī dharā (XXXIII. 62) or Bhārat (XLV. 72) placed to the north of the Ocean and to the south of the Himālaya is mentioned as a matchless country styled Karmabhūmi, where the fruits of vices and virtues as well heaven and salvation could be attained.[4]

Matsya Purāṇa also holds that Bhāratavarsha, which derived its name from Manu-Bharata, the creator and supporter of the people, is a matchless country characterised by the performance of actions [5] Thus all the Purāṇas eulogise this great country in the same tone and terms. Dr. Mukerji observes that "The country is worshipped for her gifts of the treasures of agricultural wealth, the richness of her botanical and zoological wealth, the vegetable and animal products, her splendid livestock, as also her mineral wealth; she is duly appreciated for the atmospheric wealth she brings, the congenial character of her climates, her seasons-nay, her very days and nights; and she is remarkable for her human wealth, her heroic sons .....—gifts which made the country so eminently habitable and so

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1. Kūrma P., XLVII. 19 :

   भारतेषु स्त्रियः पुंसो नानावर्णाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
   नानादेवार्च्चने युक्ता नाना कर्माणि कुर्वते ।।

   Ibid., XLVII. 21 :

   कर्मभूमिरियं विप्रा नराणामधिकारिणाम् ।

   Ibid., XLVII. 22 (i) :

   महेन्द्रोमलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः ।
   विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्रकुलपर्वताः ।।

2. Kūrma P., XVLII. 42 :

   चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगानि कवयोऽब्रुवन् ।
   कृतं त्रेता द्वापरञ्च कलिश्चान्यत्र न क्वचित् ।।

3. Ibid., XLVII. 44.
4. Vāyu P., XLV. 75-77.
5. Matsya P., CXIV. 5-7.

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warmly loved by her children in ancient times."[1] Matsya Purāṇa praises the sea-coast,[2] forests with sweet fruits, herbs and vegetation,[3] as well as plains full of agricultural crops specially the rice fields[4] and hence the earth resembled a golden lotus[5] representing all its grace, charm and colour:

तच्च पद्मं पुराणज्ञाः पृथिवीरूपमुत्तमम् ।[6]
या पद्मा सा रसा देवी पृथिवी परिचक्षते ।।[7]

Such has been the patriotic fervour showered upon Pṛthivī-devī i.e. Karma-bhūmi Bhārata, where we live and where Lord Kṛisṇa is stated to have founded Yugāvasthā (age-cylcles), a special feature of this country.[8]

Vāmana Purāṇa, a late Purāṇa of about 9th and 10th centuries of our era, refers to the patriotic ceremony of circumambulation (prdakshiṇā) round the earth,[9] a land of healthy cows, fruitful trees and rivers and ponds with their ambrosial waters:

यत्र कामदुधागावः सर्वकामफलाद्रुमाः[10] ।
नद्यस्त्वमृतवाहिन्यो ह्रदाः पायस कर्दमाः[11] ।।

And this exalted land is blessed with hills, the abodes of jewels as well as cities and ports:

महीं महीन्द्रैः सहितां रत्नाकरपत्तनैर्युताम्[12] ।।

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1. N. H. C., pp. 27-28.
2. Matsya P., CLIV. 81.
3. Ibid., CLIV. 99 :
   वनाश्रिताश्चौषधयः स्वादुवन्ति फलानि च ।।
4. Ibid., CLIV. 101 :
   पृथिवी देवी शालिमालाकुला पि च यस्मिन्हिरण्मये पद्मे ।।
5. Ibid., CLXIX. 2 :
6. Ibid., CLXIX. 3.
7. Ibid., CLXIX. 4 (i).
8. Vishṇu Dharmottaram, I. 7-29-30 ;
   हिमाचलाद्दक्षिणतोवर्षं यादव भारतम् ।
   कर्मभूमिर्महीवल यत्र वर्तामहे वयम् ।। २१
   भारतेऽस्मिन् युगावस्था केशवेनविनिर्मिता । ३० (१)
9. Vāmana Purāṇa, XLVI. 10, 59.
10. Ibid., LXX. 80 (ii).
11. Ibid., LXX. 81 (i).
12. Ibid., LXXVIII. 82.

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It looks like lotus with its beauty and bloom :

भूमिं तां पंकजाकारां[1]

That Vasuṅdharā is identified and associated with Hari:

पद्माकारा समुद्भूता पर्वताद्यादि संयुता ।
ज्योतिर्भुवननद्यद्रि समुद्रवनकं हरिः ॥[2]
यदस्तिनास्ति तद्विष्णुर्विष्णुः ज्ञानविजृम्भितम् ।
नविज्ञानमृतेकिंचिज्ज्ञानंविष्णुः परम्पदं ॥[3]

Such was this Bhaktideśa loved by gods and men alike. Skanda Purāṇa refers to this devotion towards this sacred land as 'jananībhakti'[4] and Sva-deśa-rāga, which inspired people to sacrifice their lives.[5]

Bhāgavata Purāṇa is one of the late works of the class when India was occupied by the Muslims. Patriotism, henceforth, appears with a more fervent appeal than it is treated in the earlier Purāṇas. Bhāgavata Purāṇa states that this is the most sacred land in the entire universe because, here, people perform pious deeds and sing the songs of praises associated with the incarnations of Vishṇu:

अहो भुवः सप्तसमुद्रवत्या
द्वीपेषु वर्षेष्वधिपुण्यमेतत् ।
गायन्ति यत्रत्यजना मुरारेः
कर्माणि भद्राण्यवतारयन्ति ॥

Bhāgavata P., V. 6.13

Like Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgavata also refers to the patriotic songs and divotional praises of this country sung by the gods "It asserts that even the gods sing": "How fortunate are these people of Bhāratavarsha ! Hari, Himself, is so kind to them as to, even without many great performances, they are so adopted for communion with Hari by devotion. We have attained svarga by the performance of Yajñas. But

1. Ibid., LXXVII. 7.
2. Agni Purāṇa, CXX. 39.
3. Ibid., CXX. 40.
4. Skanda Purāṇa, IV. i. 36. 76.
5. Ibid., V. ii. 45, 42.

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we shall have to be born again after the end of the Kalpa. What good is in this state, which does not bring us in direct communion with Vishṇu? These people of Bhārata-Varsha even with their short lives acquire the state of Hari. If there be any Karman left to us after enjoyment of svarga, may we be born as men in Bhārata-varsha,":

एतदेव ही देवा गायन्ति

अहो अमीषाँ किमकारि शोभनं
प्रसन्न एषां स्विदुत स्वयं हरिः
यैंजन्म लब्धे नृषु भारताजिरेः
मुकुन्द सेवौपयिक स्पृहा हि नः ॥
Bhāgavata V. 19. 21.

किं दुष्करैं नः क्रतुभिस्तपोव्रतैः
दानादिभिर्वा द्युजयेन फल्गुना ।
न यत्र नारायणपादपंकज
स्मृतिः प्रमुष्टातिशयेन्द्रियोत्सवात् ॥
Ibid., V. 19. 22.

कल्पायुषां स्थानजयात्पुनर्भवात
क्षणायुषां भारतभूजयो वरम् ।
क्षणेन मर्त्येन कृतं मनस्विनः
सन्यस्य संयात्यभयं पदं हरेः ॥
Ibid., V. 19. 23.

Bhāgavata adds that this sacred land is characterised by the Bhāgavata Kathā, Vaishaṇva saints, religious rites and ceremonies and those, who are born as human beings, have to work for their liberations (Bhāgavata, V. 19. 24.).

And this sacred land has been consequently protected by the Vishṇu, Himself:

पृथिवी वैष्णवो पुण्या पृथिवी विष्णु पालिता ॥
Skanda Purāṇa, II. i. 20.60.

Vṛihannārdīya Purāṇa explains at length the epithets of Karmabhūmi and Puṇyabhūmi given to Bārata-Varsha :—

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क्षीरोदधेरुत्तरं यद्धिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।
ज्ञेयं तद भारतं वर्षं सर्वकर्मफलप्रदम् ॥
Vri. N., III. 49.

अत्र कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति त्रिविधान्यजनन्दन् ।
तत्फलं भुज्यते ब्रह्मन् भोगभूमिष्वनुक्रमात् ॥
Ibid., III. 50.

भारते तु कृतं कर्म शुभं वाऽशुभमेव वा ।
आफलक्षयणं कर्म भुज्यतेऽन्यत्र जन्तुभिः ॥
Ibid., III. 51.

These verses, quoted above, tell us that Bhāratavarsha, placed between the Himalāyas and the Southern Sea, is a land of actions, all of which bear fruits. Hence people are, here, devoted to the performance of three-fold (pertaining to dharma, artha and kāma) deeds, the merits of which they enjoy in the heaven.

Hence even the gods crave to be born in this sacred land :

अद्यापि देवा इच्छन्ति जन्म भारतभूतले ।
सञ्चितं सुमहत्पुण्यमक्षयममलं शुभम् ॥
Ibid , II. 152.

So that by the performance of pious deeds, they attain the place of eternal bliss :

कदा वयं हि लप्स्याम़ो जन्म भारतभूतले ।
कदा पुण्येन महता प्राप्स्यामः परमं पदम् ॥
Ibid., III. 53.

दानैंवा विविधैर्यज्ञैस्तपोभिर्वाब्धिशायिनम् ।
कदा यामो यद्वै पश्यन्ति सूरयः ॥
Ibid., III. 54.

भक्ता वा कर्मभिर्वापि ज्ञानेनाप्यथवा हरिम् ।
जगदीशं कदायामो नित्यानन्द मयम् विभुम् ॥
Ibid., III. 55.

If one, who is born in this sacred land, worships the Lord Vishṇu; he attains unique and divine lustre. Hence

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if one, born here in this Karmabhūmi, does not follow the Law worshipping Him, his life is doomed :

कर्मभूमिं समासाद्य न धर्मं कुरुते नरः ।
स एव सर्वदा दुःखी कोन्यस्मादचेतनः ॥
Vri. N. III. 56.

It is for these reasons that this sacred land is held in such high esteem by the people and gods :

एवं भारतभूभागं प्रशंसन्ति दिवौकसः ।
सनत्कुमारब्रह्माद्याः स्वभोगक्षयभीरवः ॥
Ibid., III. 73.

तस्मात् पुण्यतमो ज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मफलप्रदः ।
भारताख्यो महाभाग देवानामपि दुर्लभः ॥
Ibid., III. 74.

अस्मिन् वै पुण्य भूभागे यस्तु सत्कर्म सूद्यतः ।
न तस्य सदृशः कश्चित्त्रिषु लोकेशु विद्यते ॥
Ibid., III. 75.

Bhārata-bhū is styled Kāma-dhenu (Vri. N., III. 72).

It exhibits the most sacred and the exalted character of Bhāratavarśha which inspired a sense of devotion and spirit of patriotism. Let us now join with Varāha Purāṇa to offer our salutations to this celebrated land of ours, the exalted Mothr-land :

नमो नमो मेदिनि लोकमातः उर्व्यै महाशैलशिलाधराये ।
नमो नमो धारिणि लोकधात्रि, जगत्प्रतिष्ठे वसुधे नमोऽस्तुते ॥
—Varāha Purāṇa, CLXXXVIII. 68.

Due to its sanctity, this sacred land was an object of veneration exhibited through the religious rite of circumambulation (Pradakshiṇā)[1]. Varāha Purāṇa refers to Brahmā, Lomaśa, Nārada, Dhruva, Jāmbavatīśa-putra, Rāvaṇa, Hanūmān, and many gods who went round the earth as a mark of devotion to the country. Bāli, Sugrīva and Pāṇḍavas also performed this sacred rite (Varāha P., CLIX. 6-11). Such was this celebrated land-verily heaven upon earth.

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1. Vāraha P., XCVIII. 29; CXI. 6; CLVIII. 8,34; CLIX. 2,3,14.

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Garuḍa Purāṇa ( C 8th. to 12th. Century A.d. ) represents the age of crisis and catastrophe wrought by the Mlechcha-Mātaṇgas whose power was to be crushed by the united strength of the Kshatriyas for—

बहूनामल्पसाराणां समुदायो दुरत्ययः ।
तृणैरावेष्टिता रज्जुस्तया नागोऽपि बध्यते ॥

Garuḍa, I.-114. 66.

Bhoja-Prabandha, too, upholds it—

बहूनामल्पसाराणां समवायो दुरत्ययः ।
तृणैर्विधीयते रज्जुर्बध्यन्ते तेन दन्तिनः ॥

Bhoja prabandha 40.

Lion has to attain mṛigendratā i. e. sovereignty by dint of his own strength[1] by drinking the fresh blood of elephants[2]. Garuḍa craves for liberty which was lost deprecating the state of servitude:—

स्वाधीन वृत्तेः साफल्यं न पराधीन वृत्तिता ।
ये पराधीन कर्माणो जीवन्तोऽपि ते मृताः ॥

Garuḍa, I. 115. 37.

and so also—

सर्वं परवशं दुःखं सर्वात्मवशं सुखम् ।
एतद्विद्यात्समासेन लक्षणं सुखदुःखयोः ॥

Ibid., I. 114. 6.

Happiness really lay in the life of freedom—

विचार्य्य खलु पश्यामि तत्सुखं यत्र निर्वृतिः ॥

Ibid., I. 114. 57.

Thus began a movement of the liberation of this sacred land, which has been a perennial source of the fruits of Svarga and Apavrga :

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि धन्यास्तु ये भारतभूमि भागे ।
स्वर्गापवर्गस्य फलार्जनाय भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥

Garuḍa, II. 1. 6.

Thus it was the most sacred country.

अयं देशः पुनः पूतः सर्वतो मुनि सत्तम् ॥

Varāh, CCVII. 8.

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Hence its freedom as well as the liberty of the people was the fundamental basis for the existence of human life:

स्वतन्त्रता मनुष्याणां परतन्त्रा सदाऽबला ।
नरोऽपि परतन्त्रो यस्तस्य कीदृङ्मनुष्यता ।।

Mārkaṇḍeya P., CXXI. 29.

This Purāṇic statement—pointed and patriotic—reminds us of the observations of the French philopher—Rousseau-who held—

"Man was born free, but he was every where in chains."

Hence a kshatriya whose fame was unsullied and who had not suffered disgrace as well as discomfiture at the hands of his enemies was preferred—

अखण्डितयशोवीर्य्यो यः परैनापमानितः ।।

Mārkaṇḍeya, CCXXI. 28.

Pṛithvīrāja III, the chāhmāna ruler, styled Bhārteśvara, was the champion of the country and culture. But he, too, fell in the trap and so came the inevitable kali —

वैरिणा सह सन्धाय विश्वस्तो यदि तिष्ठति ।
स वृक्षाग्रे प्रसुप्तो हि पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ।।

Garuḍa P.,I. 114. 48.

Negligience led to the birth of rajanī-parābhavaṁ—darknight of distress and defeat. Purāṇa exhorted :

सिंहव्रतञ्चरत् गच्छत माविषाद ।।

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 34.

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## Chapter V

# PATRIOTISM IN THE SMṚITIS

"The Hindu Law Book reaches the high-water mark of passionate fondness for the country as a mere material entity, for the poet behind the law-giver, with his eyes in a fire frenzy rolling characterization of his country than the attribution of her making to the very hands of the gods—the country that showers upon her sons the felicities of heaven. It should, however, be remembered that this reverential attitude towards the country is not to be regarded as being temporarily induced by a passing fit of poetical exaggeration; it was not by any means a happy hit of the moment, or the inconstant mood of a solitary admirer, author or poet. Manu smṛiti does not give expression to individual views, opinions, and sentiments, but to those of the nation. Manu is a mirror of the age, reflecting the manners, customs, and the opinions of the entire nation..... The Hindus in their heart of hearts believe that there is a chosen land, where men must be born to be worthy of final salvation".[1] Such was the country called Brahmāvarta placed between the sacred rivers viz., Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī. This country, created by the gods, was the abode of noble conduct. Close to Brahmāvarta lay the country styled Brahmarshideśa comprising the janapadas of Kurukshetra (Delhi-Meerut region), Matsya (Alwar-Jaipur and Bharatapur), Pāñchāla (Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad, Etah regious) and Śūrasena (Mathura-Hathras regions). It was the home of teachers whose conduct was worthy of

1. N. H. C., pp. 29-30.
The highest tributes are showered on Manu, when we learn that this country of ours is styled Mānava-dvīpa (same as Kumārī dvīpa of the Purāṇas) in the Nila māta Purāṇa (Verse 713) :

अयं च मानवो द्वीपस्तथा सागर संभृतः ।)

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emulation by all the people of the world.[1] Manu asserts that the region comprising the states of Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pāñchāla and Śūrasena was also noted for the military proficiency and bravery of its heroic people.[2] History also knows that such brave people as Yaudheyas, Arjunāyanas and Nāgas had occupied these states. They were the stout sentinels of freedom. Rightly, thus, the Kurukshetra region is presented here as Vīrabhūmi.

This earth, according to Manu, is known to the ancient sages as the wife of Pṛithu,[3] the first king who was Vishṇu incarnate. Hence it was the sacred duty of the kings to give protection to the pious people of noble conduct by destroying the thorns, troubles and such thievish people in their country. Thus the kings attain heaven by the proper protection of the people,[4] who were to be relieved of the terror.[5] The work comes to a close with the assertion of unity and equality of the entire human race :

एवं यः सर्वभूतेषु पश्यत्यात्मानमात्मना ।
स सर्वसमतामेत्य ब्रह्माऽभ्येति परम्पदम् ॥

Manu. XII. 125.

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1. Manu Smṛiti, II. 17-20.
   Vaśishṭha Saṁhitā also extols this region like Manu. It says : "Religious practices and customs (which prevail in the country lying to the south of the Himālaya and to the north of the Viṇdhya, must be every where acknowledged, but not different ones (are to be considered) as sacred laws".

   "(People say that this (tract of the country) is Āryāvarta. Some (say that the country of the Āryas is situated) between (the rivers) Gaṇgā and Yamunā ; (Others say) as an alternative that so far as the black antelope grazes (the country is full of) Brāhma effulgence (spiritual pre-eminence)".

   "In the west the river rambling into the Ocean (probably boundary-river Sarasvatī), in the east the region where the sun rises as far as the black antelope wanders so far (is found) Brāhma effulgence".
   M. N. Dutt-Dharmaśāstra Vol. II, Calcutta 1908, pp. 751-752.
2. Ibid., VII. 193.
3. Ibid., IX. 44.
4. Ibid., IX. 253.
5. Ibid., IX. 255.

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Manu smṛiti, thus, asserts the pre-eminence of Āryāvarta, Āryāchāra and universal brotherhood. But in the age of Manu, Madhyadeśa seems to have been invaded by the Yavanas, Śakas, and Pahlavas as well as Kushāṇas. We know that the people of Brahmāvarta, Brahmarshideśa and Madhyadeśa had fought against them. Among these fighters of freedom, Yaudheyas were the celebrated heroes recognised by all the Kshatriyas.[1] This movement of liberation culminated in the foundation of the Gupta empire when Vikramāditya Chandra Gupta II and Vikramāditya Skanda Gupta liberated the earth respectively from the clutches of Śakas and Hūṇas styled Mlechchhas.

The holy Āryāvarta, once again, in the middle ages, was defiled by the raids of the Turks and it was, in the fitness of things, that somebody should emerge as the saviour of Āryāvarta. We are told in the Delhi Pillar epigraph that Vigraharāja (IV) Bīsaladeva of the Chāhamān family restored Āryāvarta to its pristine glory and sanctity :

आविन्ध्यादाहिमाद्रेर्विरचित विजयस्तीर्थ यात्रा प्रसङ्गादुदग्री वेषु प्रहर्त्ता नृपतिषुविनमत्कन्धरेषु प्रसन्नः । आर्यावर्तं यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान्म्लेच्छविच्छेदनाभिर्हेवः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते वीसलक्षोणिपालः ।।

Delhi Pillar Inscription of Bīsaldeva
V. S. 1220 ,, Verse 3.

Thus the spirit of 'Aryāvarta consciousness' kindled by Manu always remained a source of inspiration to the defenders of dharā and dharma.

Atri smṛiti also upholde the religious sanctity of the earth (bhūrvaishṇavī),[2] and economic prosperity of the country extending up to the seas.[3] Rāshṭra-rakshā (protec-

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1. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāmana I :
सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दः ।
Dr. A. S. Altekar, J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 52-57.
A. B. L. Awasthi, Yaudheyon kā Itihāsa, pp. 8-11.
2. Atri Smṛiti, III. 16.
3. Ibid. , III. 22 :
सा सुवर्ण धरा धेनुः सशैलवनकानना ।
या तु सागर पर्यन्ता भवेद्दत्ता न संशयः ।।
Ibid., V. 5 : फलाकृष्टां महीं दद्यात् सवीजां सस्यमालीनीम् ।।

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tion of the country) and the chastisement of the wicked (dushṭasya daṇḍaḥ) are mentioned as two of the five sacred rites (pañcha yajñāḥ) to be performed by king.[1]

Vishṇu smṛiti also represents the earth as goddess (devī strīrūpa dhāriṇī)[2] decked with ornaments so as to give an impressive form gifted with charm and grace of her personality and character. Here we find an interesting dialogue between vasudhā and kaśyapa, after the former had been rescued by Vishṇu-vārāha. The Lord, then disappeared[3] and it made the earth think for her own support and safety:

वसुधा चिन्तयामास का धृतिमे भविष्यति ।
पृच्छामि कश्यपं गत्वा स मे वक्ष्यत्यसंशयम् ॥
Vishṇu Smṛiti, I. 20.
मदीयां वहते चिन्तां नित्यमेव महामुनिः ।
एवं स निश्चयं कृत्वा देवी स्त्रीरूपधारिणी ॥ Ibid., I. २१
जगाम कश्यपं द्रष्टुं दृष्टवांस्ताञ्च कश्यपः ।
नीलपङ्कजपत्राक्षीं शारदेन्दुनिभाननाम् ॥ Ibid., I. २२
अलिसङ्घालकां शुभ्रां बन्धुजीवां धरां शुभाम् ।
सुशुभ्रस्पृष्टदशनां चारुनासां नत भ्रुवम ॥ Ibid., I. २३
कम्बुकण्ठीं संहतोरूं पीनोरुजघनस्थलीम् ।
विरेजतुस्ततो यस्याः समौ पीनौ निरन्तरौ ॥ Ibid., I. २४
मत्तेभकुम्भसङ्काशौ शातकुम्भ समद्युती ।
मृणाल कोमलौ बाहू करौ किशलयोपमौ ॥ Ibid., I. २५
रुक्मस्तम्भनिभावूरू गूढे श्लिष्टे च जानुनी ।
जङ्घे विरोमे सुषमे पादावति मनोरमौ ॥ Ibid., I. २६
जघनञ्च घनं मध्यं यथा केशरिणः शिशोः ।
प्रभायुता नखास्ताम्रा रूपं सर्वं मनोहरम् ॥ Ibid., I. २७
कुर्वाणां वीक्षितैंनित्यं नीलोत्पल युता दिशः ।
कुर्वाणां प्रभया देवीं तथा वितिमिरा दिशः ॥ Ibid., I. २८
सुसूक्ष्मशुक्लवसनां रत्नोत्तमविभूषिताम् ।
पदन्यासैंवसुमतीं सपद्मामिव कुर्वती ॥ Ibid., I. २९

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1. Vishṇu Smṛiti, VI. 51 :
दुष्टस्य दण्डः सुजनस्य पूजा न्यायेन कोषस्य संप्रवद्धिः ।
अपक्षपातोऽर्थिषु राष्ट्र रक्षाः पञ्चैवयज्ञाः कथिता नृपाणाम् ॥
2. Ibid., I. 21.
3. Ibid., I. 10-19.

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रूपयौवन सम्पन्नां विनीतवदुपस्थिताम् ।
समीपमागतां दृष्ट्वा पूजयामास कश्यपः ।। ३०

The entire passage translated by Sri M. N. Dutt (Dharma śāstra, Vol. II, Calcutta 1908, pp. 813-814) is given below:—

"The goddess of the earth began to think, who shall uphold me" ?

"Approaching kaśyapa I shall ask him (about it); for sooth he shall tell me (about it) for that great ascetic daily carries thoughts about me".

"Having so detirmined, that goddess, assuming the form of a women, went to see Kaśyapa....."

"(As having) eyes like petals of a blue lotus, a countenance like the autumnal moon, hairs black like black bees, a white colour and beautiful lips like Vaṅdhu-jīva flowers";

"(As having) beautiful eye-brows, beautiful small teeth, a handsome nose, drooping eye lids, a conch-shell like throat, plump thighs joined to each other and high hips; she had a pair of equally rising breasts, having no intermediate space between them, compact like the frontal globe of Indra's elephant, and brilliant like gold".

"She had two arms like unto lotus stalks, palms-like tender leaves, thighs, like golden pillars, the two knees plump and well-attached".

"(She had) two legs shorn of hairs from the ankle to the knee-joint and well-rounded, and a pair of most beautiful feet, a strong hip, and a waist, like that of a lion-cub".

"Her nails were bright and copper coloured and her beauty was the most charming of all, and she seemed to fill the quarters of the heaven with blue lotuses by her looks".

"By the brilliance (of her body) the goddess made the quarters of the heaven free from darkness. She wore a white raiment of very thin fibres and was bedecked with the most excellent jewels",

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"Having seen her, possessed of beauty and youthfulness, as if with lotuses by her footsteps, approach him and stand humbly, kaśyapa adored her".

Thus we find a visual representotion of Goddess earth, Bhārata-bhū, which was an object of adoration.

Vishṇu smṛiti asserts that the Kshatriya ruler, whose duty was to protect the earth (kshiti trāṇaṁ, II, p. 407)* was to destroy the terror of alien invasion and thereby he was to bring peace and prosperity in the country :

शान्तिस्वस्त्ययनैर्देवोपघातान् प्रशमयेत् ।
परचक्रोपघातांश्च शस्त्रनित्यतया ।।
Vishṇu Smṛiti, III, p. 410

It was, probably, due to the perils and opposition of the Mlechchhas to the religious practices of the Hindus, that the latter were forbidden to go to or perform rites in the Mlechchha country :

न म्लेच्छविषये श्राद्धं कुर्यात् । न गच्छेत् म्लेच्छविषयम् ।।
Vishṇu Smṛiti, LXXXIV, p. 525

Vishṇu Smṛiti holds Mlechchha-deśa as a country devoid of four fold division of society viz., Chāturvarṇyaṁ, hence opposed to it is Āryāvarta :

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन् देशे न विद्यते ।
स म्लेच्छ देशो विज्ञेयो आर्यावर्त्तस्ततः परः ।।
Vishṇu Smṛiti, LXXXIV, p. 525

Saṁvartta smṛiti, like the other works of the class, holds this region to be a sacred land where the black antelope roams as usual and where the Brāhmaṇas could perform their religious rites :

स्वभावाद् यत्र विचरेत् कृष्णसारः सदा मृगः ।
धर्म्य देशः स विज्ञेयो द्विजानां धर्मसाधनम् ।।
Samvarta Smṛiti, I.4.

That country which is dedicated to the philosophy of Yoga i.e. equality and meditation is also a sacred land :

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* Vishṇu smriti (Smṛiti-Sandarbhaḥ, Part I, Guru Mandala Calcutta edition, 1952) is quoted here.

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यस्मिन् देशे वसेद्योगी ध्यान योग विचक्षणः ।
सोऽपि देशो भवेत् पूतः किं पुनस्तस्य बान्धवाः ।।

Daksha smṛiti, VII. 47.

Daksha asserts, consquently, that one who conquers and captures the other countries by force is not the real hero; the true hero is one who conquers his own senses–the animal passion :

बलेन परराष्ट्राणि गृह्णन् शूरस्तु नोच्यते ।
जितो येनेन्द्रियग्रामः स शूरः कथ्यते बुधैः ।।

Daksha Smṛiti, VII. 18.

Thus, it is evident that Hindu politics was also spiritualised and it upheld the principle of coexistence and non-aggression. But still, the avaricious people, from far and near, had been invading this country which was gold, and good.

Hence it was asserted that those, who are killed in the battle-field for the sake of their country, attain the heavenly bliss like the ascetics :

य आहवेषु वध्यंते भूम्यर्थमपराङ्मुखाः ।
अकूटरायुर्धैयांति ते स्वर्गं योगिनो यथा ।।

Mitākṣharā, I. 323.

They were not to leave their post of duty (aparāṅ-mukhāḥ), as their dharma (sva-dharma) was to die for the sake of their sacred land. Those who stick to their post and fall fighting even after the destruction of their army and soldiers, they attain the bliss :

पदानि क्रतु तुल्यानि भग्नेष्वविनिवर्तिनाम् ।
राजा सुकृतमादत्ते हतानां विपलायिनाम् ।।

Mitākṣharā, I. 324.

This glorious ideal of Rājapūta chivalry was very dear to them and we find Pṛithvīrāja III treading on the same traditional track of patriotism and martyrdom :

सकल सूर सामंत रण, भै छिन भिन सरीर ।
असम विखम सज्यौ नृपति, लग्गौ लोह कँठीर ।।

Pṛithvīrāja rāso, Antima Yuddha, Verse 391.

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Truly such wars fought for the sake of country and culture are styled Dharmayuddha. The sage Parāśara observes : "In the sacrifice of battle (saṁgrāma – Yajña) he, who drinks the hot stream of blood issing from a wound in his forehead, drinks the juice of the sacred Soma (acid Aescaepis). Peerless is his merit in heaven. By quitting this life in a war of Virtue (Dharma–Yuddha), the spirit of a hero is translated to that heaven which the pious and the erudite ascend by dint of their pieties, knowledge, and religious ceremonies duly celebrated".[1] The great savant, Sri M. N. Dutt defines the term Dharma-Yuddha as "a war declared for purposes which can sanctify bloodshed and make war a virtue, such as the liberty of one's own fatherland, the defence of one's hearth and home etc.".[2]

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1. Dharma Śāstra, (English Translation), Calcutta 1908 by Sri M. N. Dutt, p. 551.
2. Ibid., p. 551, footnote.

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## Chapter VI

# PATRIOTISM IN SAMSKRIT LITERATURE

When this sacred land was aflame under the furious fire of Tājika invasions, it stood askant. Nay ! the entire world particularly Central and Western Asia, Northern Africa and Southern Europe was scared by the rise of a new faith and force stimulated by the world conquest. The conquest of Sindha was accompanied with carnage and catastrophe which stirred the heart of a poet and the arms of Kshatriya dedicated for and initiated in giving protection to the country.[1] The poets aroused them to their task, svadharma.[2] But they were a little careless, hence the poets and sages exhorted them to stick to their duty.[3]

The first Muslim invasion was launched against Thana,[4] now in the state of Mahārāṣṭra. Soḍḍhala, the author of Udaya Suṅdarī Kathā, was intimately associated with the capital of Koṅkaṇa named Sthānaka (modern Thana) as

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1. Navasā | asāṅka Charita, XIII. 9.

   भुजः सदा रक्षण दीक्षितः क्षितेः ।

2. Udaya Suṅdarī, p. 8 :

   स तु स्वधर्माधीन पुरुषव्रतः ।

   Ibid., p. 75 :

   समन्तादार्तहरित्राणं नाम धर्मः सतां विशेषतः ।
   क्षितिपालनेष्वधिकारिणाँ क्षत्रियाणाम् ॥

3. Navasāhasāṅka Charita, X. 26 :

   अभिगम्य एव स तवाधुनारिपुरु मरुतामुदार निजकार्यसिद्धये ।
   श्रुतिलग्नगन्धगज बृंहितःक्षणं नृपकेसरी कथय किं बिलम्बते ॥

   Ibid., X. 44 :

   नहि सिद्धये दीर्घसूत्रता ।

4. Eliot & Dowson, Vol. I, Historians of Sindh, p. 16 : "In the year 15 H (636 A. D.), Usmān sent his brother Hakam to Bahrain, and he himself went to 'Usmān' and dispatched an army to Tānā....Hakam dispatched a force to Barauz (Baroach); he also sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughira, who met and defeated the enemy."

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well as Valabhī and Lāṭa deśa[1] (South Gujrat), the provinces which were again invaded by the Tājikas. Thus the author of Udaya Suṅdarī Kathā, ascribed to 11th Century A. D., was in a position to present a true picture of his age particularly the political condition of Western India. He refers to the terrible struggle between armies of the Tājikas and Kshatriyas symbolically described as 'Narahari Karīndra Saṁhāra dāruṇaṁ' and it caused great gloom (Vyomāṅdhakāra).[2] In such an environment of crisis and catastrophe, our poets and sages came to the rescue of the country with their compositions.

मुक्तकवृत्तैः कविता कैव किलाऽसौ विना प्रबन्धेन ।
ताराभिर्न विराजति शून्या चन्द्रेण गगनश्रीः ।।

तत्साधु संवृत्तमनेन वत्सराज पठितार्यावधारणेन मे योगाञ्जनेनेव मोहतिमिरा वृत्तेयमुद्घाटिता मानसी दृष्टिः शब्देनेव निद्रान्तः प्रबोधिता बुद्धिरुदकपातेनेव मूर्च्छितश्चेतनां लम्भितो विवेकश्च ।[3]

Kṛishṇa Miśra's Prabodha Chandrodaya fully justifies the above observations. It represents the dawn of intellectual revolution.

Viśākhadatta also asserts the efficacy of buddhi-jala suited to 'deśa kāla' for the attainment of success in the undertaking of a mission.[4] Here in the prose as well as poetry the poets used their poetic skill based on the use of dhvani (dhvani garbhitasya) [5] Really the goddess Bhāratī, herself, appeared to inspire the medieval poets of India.[6] Soḍḍhala

1. Udaya Sundarī, p. 12.
2. Udaya Suṅdarī, p. 6 : also last two Verses.
3. Ibid., p. 13 :
4. M. R., V. 1.
5. Udaya Sundarī, p. 13 :
6. Ibid., p. 11 :

कविजनरसना विमानगामिनीमखिलवाङ्मयस्वामिनीम् ।

She is invoked :

वागीश्वरि ! जयन्त्येतास्तव ध्यानामृतोर्मयः ।
तज्जन्मा मानस क्षेत्रे बोधबीजांकुरोदयः ।।
जयन्ति तव भासिन्यो भारति ज्योतिषश्छटाः ।
स्फुरन्ति यत्र तत्रैव ज्ञानरत्नमयो निधिः ।।

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observes :

साधुर्जयत्यार्ति हरः कवीनां कवीश्वराः सूक्तसृजो जयन्ति ।
जयन्ति सूक्तानि फलं हि वाचां वाचामधीशा जयतीह देवी ॥[1]

The goddess Sarasvatī with its splendour appeared in the companiment of Veda. Upaveda, Vedāṅga, Purāṇa, Dharmaśāstra, and Itihāsa, etc. (Prabodha Chandrodaya, V. 6). Such other branches of learning as Sāṁkhya, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Mahābhāshya and Trayī etc. also extended their hands of concord and cooperation towards Sarasvatī (Prabodha Chandrodaya, V. 7). It led to the establishment of Samavāya or union of hostile Āgamas and Tarkas :

स्वभाव प्रतिद्वन्द्विनामागमानां तर्काणां च समवायः सम्पन्नः ।

Prabodha Chandrodaya, p. 173.

It aimed at the Unity of purpose and thought leading to political unity. The Union of the hostile Kshatriyas, born of the same ancestors, and vanquished by the enemies, leads to the attainment of sovereignty :

समानान्वयजातानां परस्परविरोधिनां ।
परैः प्रत्यभिभूतानां प्रसूते संगतिः श्रियम् ॥

Prabodha Chandrodaya, V. 18.

It clearly asserts the importance of the union of the Kshatriya rulers:

क्षत्रियाश्चापि भूपालमेकम् कृत्वा सुभक्तितः ।
तदादेशात् प्रभुंजन्ति महीम् न संशयः ॥

Skanda P., V. III. 5 . 14

Garuda P. also asserts that the Union of many weak persons is a great strength; and the elephants are bound by means of the ropes, made of grass joined together :

बहूनामल्पसाराणां समुदायो दुरत्ययः ।
तृणैरावेष्टिता रज्जुस्तया नागोऽपि बध्यते ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114.66

1. Ibid., p. 155.

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It is reproduced—

बहूनामल्पसाराणां समवायो दुरत्ययः ।
तृणैर्विधीयते रज्जुर्बध्यन्ते तेन दंतिनः ॥

Bhoja Prabandha, p. 40

Thus Bhoja Prabandha also upholds the unity of Kshatriyas and it was due to 'svadeśa-rāga (Bhoja prabandha p. 35) that such an unexpected union was materialised :—

अघटितघटितानि घटयति घटित घटितानि दुर्घटी कुरुते ।
विधिरेव तानि घटयति यानि पुमान्नैव चिंतयति ॥

Bhoja-prabandha, p. 40.

Thus the scourage of alien domination led to the union or confederacy of Kshatriyas. It was an intellectual revolution, which changed the very conception of Sāhitya :

येन वेद प्रसूतानां तेषामवान्तर विरोधेऽपि वेदसंरक्षणाय नास्तिक पक्ष प्रतिक्षेपणाय शास्त्राणां साहित्यमेव । आगमानां च तत्त्व विचारयतामविरोध एव ।

Prabodna Chandrodaya, p. 175

Thus Sāhitya identical with samavāya represented an intellectual force which aimed at the preservation of Veda and extermination of atheism. It led to religious unity in the same way as different rivers lose their individual identity by joining the sea :

ज्योतिः शान्तमनन्तमद्वयमजं तत्तद्गुणोन्मीलना—
द ब्रह्मेत्यच्युत इत्युमापतिरिति प्रस्तूयतेऽनेकधा ।
तैस्तैरेव सदागमैः श्रुतिमुखैर्नानापथ प्रस्थितै—
गम्योऽसौ जगदीश्वरो जलनिधिवारां प्रवाहैरिव ॥

Probodha Chandrodaya, V. 9

Really, unity dispels all worries and woes:

एकमेव सदा ब्रह्म सत्यमन्यद्विकल्पितम् ।
को मोहस्तत्र कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥

Prabodha Chandrodaya, V. 15

Thus the critical, careful and conscientious study of Samskrit literature exhibits the intensity of patriotism and national consciousness.

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As such, Bhavabhūti, the earliest poet of the early Medieval India, appears as a champion of Vīratā[1] and Vīra-śri.[2] He asserts that Kshatriya king owed his station and status to the duty of giving protection to the people, country and cnlture.[3] Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj and patron of Bhavabhūti, seems to have been inspired by such exhortations of his court-poet and moved by the charm and grace of Vīra-śrī, he performed digvijaya.[4] In the course of his victorious march he is stated to have vanquished Pārasīkas[5] identified with the Arab conquerors and rulers of Sindha.[6] He is also stated to have sought the assistance from China against these valiant people, though no help came from there.[7] The valiant and wicked enemy like a dreadful dragon and infuriated as well as intoxicated elephant staying near (in Sindha), close to Kānyakubja deśa or Madhyadeśa—Mid-India or Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Doab was a source of great danger. Bhavabhūti thus presents his age harassed by Serpent-elephant (vyāladvipa), the two ferocious creatures representing the Tājika invaders of Sindha, who were to be crushed with caution and care :

Apramattaḥ pramattaṁ Vijayasva.[8]

The term 'pramatta' suggests 'matta-mātaṅga' by whom Achala was besieged :

Śuṇḍāraḥ kalabhena Yadvadachale. M.V.C., I. 53

The elephant characterised by roaring (garjita guṇaṁ) had been struck by Vatsa with his bow.[9] The hill named Achala probably refers to Mt. Abu with the temple of Achaleśvara on its top. Probably, Vatsa was identical with Vatsarāja, the

1. MVC., Act I, pp. 31, 32.
2. Ibid., p. 33.
3. Ibid., I. 22, 25.
4. Gauaḍavāho of Vākpatirāja another court poet gives an account of his digvijaya, Gauḍavāho, 192--694.
5. Classical age p. 129; Gauḍavāho, 439.
6. Ibid., p. 130
7. Ibid., p. 180
8. MVC., after I. 61.
9. Ibid., I. 53,

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Pratihāra ruler, who is stated to have vanquished demonic and infuriated elephants who were wild and wicked (madotkaṭa kari),[1]

An important epigraph asserts that "the army of the Tājikas.....destroyed with its rapidly brandished swords, the prosperous Saiṅdhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara, and other kings.....desiring to enter Dakshiṇāpatha (South India) with a view to vanquish all Southern kings.....".[2] Navasārikā Vishaya (Navasārī, Surat Dt.) also suffered at the hands of the Tājikas.[3] From Al Biladurī we know that Junaid "sent his officers to Marmad Maṇḍal, Dahnaj, and Barus (Broach). He sent a force against Uzain (Ujjain) and he also sent Habid, son of Marra with an army against the country of Maliba (Malwa). They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al Bailaman and Jurz.....".[4] Vatsarāja is mentioned as a ruler of Avanti (Avanti-bhūbhṛita) in Jain Harivṁśa composed in the Śaka Saṁvat 705=783 – 784 A. D. Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti or Malwa was thus the seat of the government of Vatsarāja[5] for whom it was natural to come in conflict with Madotkaṭa-kari', the wild and valiant Tājikas (Arabs). Bhavabhūti, thus, gives us an important historical information that Vatsa (raja) had vanquished the young elephant who besieged Achala (Mt. Abu). His successors Nāgabhata I, Nagabata II, Rāmabhadra, and Mihirabhoja, etc. incessantly fought for the country against these unassailable and hostile elephants (durvāravairi-vara vāraṇa),[6] styled vicious, and wicked creatures (krūra-sattvān pāpāchārāṅ),[7] and Mlechchhādhipas.[8] Thus they rightly justified their epithet of Pratihāras working as

1. Gwalior Stone Inscription of Bhoja, Verses 6—7.
2. C. I. I., Vol. IV., pp. 143-144.
3. Ibid.,
4. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I (Kitab Mahala, Allahabad), p. 126.
5. Dr. B. N. Puri, History of Gurjar Pratiharas, pp. 34-35.
6. Gwalior Stone Inscription of Bhoja, Verse 9.
7. Ibid., Verse 12.
8. Ibid., Verse 4.

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a door bolt to bar the passage of the world conquerors. But in this task of national resistance and resurgence, the role of such patriotic poets as Bhavabhūti, Daṇḍī, Somadeva, (author of Kathāsaritasāgara) and Jayānaka (Prithvīrāja Vijaya), etc. was not at all insignificant. They roused the spirit of patriotism and diagnosing the body politic suggested remedies to cure the country of the chronic ills.

While pointing out the defects in the political system of the country, Bhavabhūti suggests certain remedies for the stabilisation of State and society. He asserts:—

(1) **Kula-jyeshṭhaḥ-prabhuḥ** (MVC, I 41), thus he advocates the law of primogeniture in the case of succession which caused clashes and conflicts among Rājapūta princes.

(2) Prajñā, political wisdom, sharpened for she effective use of the weapon of Śaktis (tri-śakti) was an urgent remedy.

(3) He advocates the union of Brāhma-teja and kshātra-teja i. e. the unision and concerted action of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas (MVC., II. 5).

(4) He pleaded for the complete annihilation of the enemies (MVC., III. 6).

(5) He exhorts the sense of patriotism (MVC., IV. 7) and unity (saṁgha-vṛitti, MVC., p. 150, after IV. 7) warning the nation of internal dissensions responsible for the weakness of the kshatriyas (aūtar bheda-jarjaraṁ, MVC., p. 151, after IV. 7).

(6) Thus Bhavabhūti holds that a sole monarch (eko jagatpatiḥ – MVC., III. 46) with devotion to his vow of giving protection to the people (rakshāvratānāṁ, MVC. III. 47) was to act like a physician (yathā vaidyas tathā rājā – MVC., IV. 23).

Daṇḍī, another celebrated thinker of early Medieval India, too, presents ambroisal waters for the resurgence and revitalisation of Bhāratī nation. As such, his celebrated

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work, Daśa-Kumāra-Charita, awakens the Rājapūta princes asking them to follow the kauṭilyan politics (D. K. Chrita, p. 256, VIII Uchchhvāsa) for the protection of country styled Dharaṇī-ramaṇī—

रुचिर रत्नाकर वेला मेखलायित धरणी रमणी

D. K. Charita, Uchchhvāsa I, p. 2.

Avani-sura-rakshaṇa[1] (the protection of country as well as culture (gods and Brāhmaṇas) was an important duty of a kshatriya prince. Daṇḍī pointed out the evils of mal-administration caused by anarchy (anāyakamidaṁ rājyaṁ)[2] and strife (tanmūlāścha kalahāḥ)[3]. Hence Daṇḍī asserts the importance of unity and cordiality among the Rājapūta princes :—

सर्वेऽपि कुमारा·····सर्वमपि वसुधावलयं न्यायेन परिपालयन्तः

परस्परमैकमत्येन वर्तमानाः·····दुर्लभानि राज्यसुखान्यन्वभूवन् ।।

This unity is best represented by the author of yaśas-tilaka :—

प्रागद्रिमन्दर हिमाचल सेतुबन्धमर्यादमल्पकमिदं भुवनंविलोक्य ।

Yaśastilaka, II. 43.

This region placed between Eastern Hill (Udayagiri) and Western Hill (Maṅdara) as well as Himāchala and Setubaṅdha was a single, political and cultural unit styled chakravartī-kshetra.

When this sacred land was invaded by Tājikas, Turushkas and Mlechchhas, there was kindled in the hearts of the people and princes, an intense love of country and kshatriyas spurred by svadeśarāga[4] laid down their lives for it; for even the worst motherland is held close to

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1. D. K. Charita, Uchchhvāsa I, p. 25 :
अहमवनिसुररक्षणाय···
2. Ibid., VIII, p. 271.
3. Ibid., VIII, p. 265.
4. Skanda Purāṇa, IV, II. 76. 47.

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bosom :

प्राणिनां हि निकृष्टापि जन्मभूमिः पराप्रिया ॥[1]

But Bhārata was the most sacred land :

देशोऽयमस्ति परमः पवित्रः ॥[2]

and a fine too :—

सांप्रतं चापि भगवन् देशोऽयं देवमानुषैः ।
वस्तव्यो रमणीयश्च पुण्यश्च भविता तथा ॥[3]

Bhārata and even its nine territorial divisions are objects of veneration :

भारतस्य तथा भेदाः पूजनीयाश्च ये नव ॥[4]

It was to be defended against alien domination (Vasuṅdharaḥ parāgata eva, MVC., II, p. 81) and she, thus, needed a saviour :

परित्रायस्व साहसिक MVC, II, p. 84.

But sāhasika had to be vigilant—

त्वयि स्थिते सम्प्रति जागरूके
जगद्विधेयेषु विधूतचिन्तः ॥ नवसाहसांक चरित ९ । ८

1. Kathā Sarita Sāgara, L 11. 189.
2. Nīlamata Purāṇa, verse 241.
3. Ibid., 263.
4. Ibid , 711.

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## Chapter VII

# PṚITHVĪRĀJA RĀSO—AN EPIC OF PATRIOTISM

Pṛithivīrāja-rāso presents an authentic account of the Indian heroes who sacrificed their lives in their fight for the safety of their country and culture—a typical epic of Indian heroism—at a time when the epoch of Hindu independence may be said to have closed in Northern India.[1] After the death of Pṛithivīrāja III, sun of Hindu glory sinks down in the dark horizon and the epoch of Turkish conquest in the different regions begins. The struggle against the 'world conquerors' had been waged for centuries by the Guhilots, Pratihāras, Śāhis, Chandellas, Paramāras, Chālukyas, Gahaḍawālas and Chāhamānas, all of which were, as if, created for the same purpose and all representing Purātana Purusha, Hari or Rāma, the exterminator of the demons

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya of Jayānaka and Pṛithivīrāja-rāso of Chandabaradāī also known as Pṛithvī-Bhaṭṭa are the poetic compositions of great merits. The former has already been recognised as a work of great historical value[2]. But the latter styled Pritharāja Kāvya'[3] has, too, its unique significance. In some respects its value as a contemporary evidence for the collapse of Hindu power in India surpasses all the works. The Muslim chronicles have, so far, been relied upon and little attention has been paid to Pṛithvīrāja-rāso as a valuable source of history. The scholars hesitate to do it and take shelter behind the so-called 'poetic fancy' or bardic imagination.' The critical edition

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1. Pṛithivīrāja-rāso ki Vivechanā' p. 476 :
   "जिस समय भारत भूमि चौला बदल कर स्वतंत्र से परतन्त्र बनी, उस समय जिन भारत के वीरों ने भारतीय वीरता का परिचय देने को रणांगण में रक्त प्रवाहित किया उनकी घटनाओं का प्रमाणभूत रासो ग्रन्थ है।"
2. P. V., Preface by Dr. G. H. Ojha, 3-4.
3. Rāso, I. 14 :
   सोयं पातु गणेस-सेस सकलं प्रिथराज काव्यं कृते ।।

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of the Rāso published by the Rājasthana Viśva-Vidyāpīṭha, Udayapura has excluded a lot of interpolations. Interpolations ! many more are still there, and these are to be found in the Epics and the Purāṇas. Are, then, we going to discard them as the results of poetic fancy, fable and fabrication? It is neither fair nor desirable.

Poet does employ his fancy and so also he chooses freely the colours he has to use in painting his age and his surroundings. Thus in the vast and varied field of poetic composition (apāre kāvya saṁsāre), a poet alone is the true Creator–artist (kavireva Prajāpatiḥ), he presents and portrays his world in a way he likes (yathā vai rochate viśvaṁ tathedaṁ parivartate).[1] Chanda's work, a kāvya-samudra, is really an important treatise dealing with the polity (Rājanīti) and the cultural life of India on the eve of Muslim conqust.[2] The composition is based on the ancient tradition and dramaturgy.[3] Chanda warns the readers to read his work with caution and care. The poetic composition, as it should be, is garbed in the poetic devices of ślesha and dhvani. Chanda himself says—

अति ढंक्यौ न उघार, सलिल जिमि सिरिन्रव सिवालह ,
वरन वरन सु व्रीत्ति, हार चतुरंग विसालह ।
विमल अमल वानी विलासु, बयन बानी बर ब्रंननु ,
वक्तनु बयन बिनोदु, मोदु श्रोतनि मन हर्ननु ।
जुत अजुत जुक्ति विचार वहु, वयन छन्द छुटौ न कह ,
घटि वढ़िढ मत्तह पढौ, दोसु विज्जे न यह ॥[4]

Thus Rāso is meant to be an ornament of those who are proficient in the art of poetry—hāra chaturaṅga Viśālaha—i.e. a necklace, an ornament, of the kaṇṭha. Here, too, the

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1. Agni P., CCCXXXIX. 10.
2. Raso, Ādi Kathā, Verse 22.
3. Ibid., V. 23.

   छंद प्रबंध कवित्त जति, साटक गाह दुहत्थ ।
   लहु गुरु मंडित खंडित यहि, पिंगुल अमर भरत्थ ॥

   Ibid., V. 24.
4. R. Ādi kathā, V. 25.

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character of 'hāra' or necklace suggests its popularity which led to the memorisation and recitation of the work by the people and poets. It is true and truly it has led to the voluminous increase of the work in the fertile soil of Rājasthāna. Chanda further refers to the dormant excellence of its suggested meaning.[1] Historians have not, hence, cared to assess its value as a source of our history on the lines suggested by the poet himself. Jayānaka, the author of Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, himself asserts:

कवेस्स तत्वं कविरेव वेद न तद्विदुस्तर्कवितर्कखिन्ना: ।
किं वेदितुं दोषगुणावभिज्ञस्तुरङ्गविद्या निपुणस्य यन्ता ।।[2]

Jayānaka, with a heavy heart, wants to compose his work with a desire, devotion and duty to his patron, King of men (nareśvara) who was Rāma incarnate.[3]

Jayānaka aimed to narrate the glorious deeds of Pṛithivīrāja, his patron (Yaśāṁsi vistārayitum nṛipasya).[4]

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1. Ādi Kathā, V. 27.
अरथं ढंकिन स रसा, उच्चारै वनिश्थ एकलयां ,
मझ्झं मझ्झ प्रमानं, चतुरस्त्री हारयं जेम ।।

2. P. V., I. 30. Jonarāja comments :
"कविरेव कवे: कौशलं जानाति तार्किकास्तु नात्र कुशला: ,
अश्वविद्याचतुरस्य गुणदोषौ विस्रष्टुं यन्ता गजारोह: किमभिज्ञो भवति ।"

3. Ibid., P. V. I. 31.
गतस्पृहोप्यादि कवि: प्रबन्धं बबन्ध रामस्य भविष्यतोपि ।
संमान्यमानस्तु नरेश्वरेण मादृक्कथं काव्य विधावुदास्ताम् ।।
i.e. "रामभद्रस्य जन्मन: प्रागेव रामायणं निस्पृहोपि वाल्मीकि: कृतवान् मादृक्सस्पृहस्तु राज्ञादत्तवृत्तिश्चरित्रवर्णने काव्ये कथमुदासीनो भवेत् ···।"
Commentary by Jonāraje.

4. P. V., I. 23.
मयि प्रवृत्ते हिमसोदराणि यशांसि विस्तारयितुं नृपस्य ।
प्रजाज्वलीतु प्रतिपक्षराज न्यायेन सर्वोपि गणो बुधानाम् ।।
Jonarāja observes :
"हिमसदृशानि राज्ञ: पृथ्वीराजस्य यशांसि रव्यापयितुं मयि प्रवृत्ते सति तदीय प्रतिपक्षा राजान: पण्डिताश्च मत्सरेणात्यर्थं ज्वलन्तु हिमेन" ज्वलनमिति विरोधाभास: ।।
यदि पण्डिता मत्सरं कुर्वन्तु तर्हि त्वत्काव्यं कश्शृणोतीत्याह ।

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Chanda Baradāī also describes the hearoic achievements of Pṛithivīrāja (Pittha-parākrama) who was equal to Pṛithu or Pārtha in valour (Pattha-sama).[1] Chanda too wanted to immortalise the glory of Pṛithivīrāja III and he claims to have given true and faithful account of the events[2] as he observed with his own eyes.[3] Thus, in brief, we conclude that both the works viz. Pṛithivīrāja-vījaya of Jayānaka and Prithivirāja-rāso of chanda are the 'Pritharāja-kāvya' based on the ancient style of Itihāsa-Purāṇa.[4] Both the poets were well-versed in the six languages including that of the Turkish conquerors.[4] Many scholars ascribed a late date to Rāso on the basis of Arabic and Persian words used by chanda. That is not fair. Jayānaka himself exihibits his knowledge of the foreign tongues used by these Turkish and Tājika invaders. Jayānaka observes :

दधतमपुनरुद्गमाय लूनैस्सह चिकुरैरिव लुप्त मूर्धवर्णाम् ।
विपिनविहगवाशितायमानां तनुमिव धिग्गिरमप्यशुद्धवर्णाम् ॥

P. V., X. 45.

It was essential to know their language without which envoys and spies, a common feature of the age, could not work in their respective fields.

Both the poets, Jayānaka and Chanda, uphold the

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1. R. Antima yuddha, p. 1151, Verse 390:
पिथ्थ पराक्रम पथ्थ सम····· ।
2. Ibid., Ādikatha, V. 28 :
जथ कथ्थ तथ्थ होइ निर्मय, जोग भोग राजन लहिय ।
वज्रंग बाहु अरि दलमलनु, तासु कित्ति चंदह कहिय ॥
Ibid., V. 29 :
जिमि रहै नाम पृथिराज तुव, भुव सम मंडहि अचल करि ।
3. Ibid., V. 26.
4. R. Ādikathā, V. 26 :
उक्ति धर्म विशालस्य राजनीति नवंरसः ।
षट भाषा पुराणं कुराणं कथितं मया ॥
P. V., 35 :
जयन्ति सोमेश्वर नन्दनस्य ।
षण्णां गिरां शक्तिमतो यशांसि ॥
Ibid., XII. 73.

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divine personality (Hari-rūpa)[1] of Pṛthivīrāja III who had descended upon the earth near Pushkara for the destruction of the Mlechchhas, Asuras, Daityas as well as Mātaṅgas and Gajas. But both the artists paint their identical themes in the different style using light or dark colours at the spots they choose.

Jayānaka sitting sad in the absense of his patron is led away to compose his work characterised by karuṇā and nirveda which unfolds his mind distressed by the decline of his patron's family[2] through dhvani, śleśha and upamā (see specially, Sarga I). But Chanda has presented 'Navarasa vilāsa' in his Mahākavya which is complete in itself. The space here does not permit me to go into the detailed study of the two works, which have their unique significance for the reconstruction of early Medieval Indian history.

So far, Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya has been recognised as a reliable work for the history of the Chāhamānas. But the modern scholars dare not go against the earlier judgements of Buhler and Ojha to assert the historical value of Pṛithivirājarāso. Dr. Dasharath Sharma, however, upholds its historical value.[3] Rāso is very important source for the study of the age of Pṛithivīrāja III. Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya comes to an abrupt end, whereas Rāso takes us from the lowest level of the contemporary India and step by step it reaches the highest peak of the Chāhamāna glory. It thence descends, slowly and silently, with cautious step and heavy heart on the ground—where the queens, we find them, ascending the funeral pyres to meet their husbands in the heaven. Sun has set in and the goddess Sarasvatī, too, departs. This is a tragedy—tragedy

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1. R., I. 76.
2. P. V., I. 48:

   उत्तेजितं रामतया कुलं यदुद्वेजितं तद्भवता जिनत्वे ।
   इत्यन्वयं स्वं प्रतिसंदिहानो मन्दप्रभस्सूरिरिवाद्य सूर्यः ।।

3. Pṛithivīrāja Rāso kī Vivechanā, p. 611 :—

   "यह मानना कि रासो सर्वथा जाली ग्रन्थ है या इसमें कोई सत्य ही नहीं है महान भूल है ।"

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par excellence. It is hence a Mahākāvya. Naturally then, it is an Epic of patriotism which inspired the entire Vīra Kāvya in the subsequent history of Indian literature, which is the beginning of Hindi literature.

Chanda asserts :

जा जियत राज धर पर बसिय न्याय नीति न प्रकासिये ।
नर नाग देव निंदै सकल निक्क करं तह बासियै ॥

That Rājanya (Kshatriya King), who lives to see his country in bondage is a vile woe. He is doomed to a life of hell.

The earth afflicted by the affronts struck to her face had some consolation in the personality of Pṛithivīrāja III, son of Someśvara as her glorious son was to liberate her :

पुत्र इहि भार उतारै । रासो, आदि कथा, ४०

Hence she appeared before Bhārateśvara Pṛithivīrāja :

पीत वसन आस हियं, रत्त तिलकावलि मंडिय ।
छूटिय चंचल चाल अलक गुंथिय सिर छंडिय ॥
सीस फूल मनिबंध, पान मग सेत रत्त बिच ।
मनहु कनक साखा प्रचंड गहै काली उप्पम रुचि ॥
मनु सोम सहायक राह हुअ, कोटि भांन सोभालही ।
अद्भुत द्रव्य ससि अहि गिल्यो साख सुरंग मनावही ॥
रासो, आदि कथा ३३

Bhārata-mātā comes before the vision of her son-saviour and servant, whom she told :—

बीर भोग बसुमती, बीर भोगी वर चाहौं ।
हाइ भाइ कटाच्छ, बीर वीरां तन साहौं ॥
बीरां थी पद्धरी, बिना बीरां वर बंकी ।
दिव्य देह नारीय, सुरां असुरा नह संकी ॥
मिष्टान पांन बहु भोग रस, रस सुगन्ध वीरन द्रऊँ ॥
अनभंग वीर जो मोहि वरि, रस अनेक निहचै श्रऊँ ॥
भूमिस्वप्नकथा ३५

As shown above, Vīra or Śūra represents the saviour of the country and he is always devoted to the duty of sva-

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deśa-pālana. Pṛithivīrāja, himself, realised the sanctity of his duty :

इक धर रक्खन ध्रंम ॥ हुसेन कथा १३
आदि ध्रंम धर पंथ ए हिंदुवान कुल भान । पृथा व्याह ५

An other Rājapūta leader observes :

(तब) भीम वत्त सलखान जैत बंधौ उच्चारिय ।
भूमि तात अप्पनी रुधिर छट्टै गल सारिय ॥
आदि अवनि व्यौहार धनी धर धारण खंडै ।
धनु लुट्टत गोआल, परह पुक्कार न छंडै ॥
दिक्खियै दीन घर घर फिरै, गुरुअत्त न हरू अत्तनै ।
निद्रा पियास छुध मोहि तज, दुक्ख सुक्ख इक्कन गनै ॥
भोला राय १५

Thus the Rājapūta heroes thought and accepted it as a faith to serve the country with blood, sweat and 'what not'. Hence Vīras were the real ornaments of the country :

भूमी द्रवै सु लच्छी बंका वीराइ बंकी भूमी ।
नहिं वंकी धर कब्बं, बंका वीराइ बंकिय होइ ॥
भोलाराय ३६

वीर भोग वसुमती, वीर बंका अनुसरई ।
वीर दान भोगवै वीर खग्गह गुर करई ॥
भोलाराय ३७

Vīra followed the Khaḍga-vrata. The life of Vasuṅdharā depended on the efficacy of sword and horse :

न कस्यापि कुले जाता, न कस्य नर नारियम् ।
हय क्षुर खड्ग धारा च, वीर भोग्या वसुन्धरा ॥
भोलाराय ३८

It is in vain to be attached to this mortal body and victory is uncertain and He has given two arms to both the contestants :—

सुणी बत्त सारंग वर, केहा देहा नेह ।
दई दुहत्थैं पिंजरह, ह्यंदूमिच्छन छेह ॥
भोलाराय ३९

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Kshatriya's salvation lies in his death in the battle field :—

रजपूत मुक्ति खिति खग्ग खिरि, बिधि बिनान यौं नृम्मयो ।
कलि जाहि मिटै महि मंडलहि, पै न मिटै तनु श्रम्मयो ।।

भोलाराय ४८

Thus Rāso exihibits an undomitable will of the Rājapūta to defend his country and culture :—

ध्रम धर उद्धरिय । वरुण कथा ३४

He felt a privileged pride in laying down his life at the altar of Mother-land :—

हम छत्री छिति धरनी, हम्म विद्या धारा धन ।
हम सम न कोई संसार महँ, मरण जियन चित्तह डरण ।
जीयहिं जुद्ध भुव भुग्गवहि, मर हित सुर पुर हिरि सरण ।।

वरुण कथा ५०

Pṛithivīrāja was verily the sun:

तब लगि तहँ प्रथिराज रण, पत्तौ छत्रि नि भान ।।

वरुण कथा ५५

He was the champion of liberty along with Vikrama:

विक्रम अरु चहुआन नृप पर धरती सक बंध ।
असम समय साहस करन, हिन्दु राज दुअ कंध ।।

भीमवध १४

Both of them stood to shield and shelter the country, threatened by catastrophe :

देस भंग कुल अंत होइ नहिं देखत धन्नह ।

हांसी द्वितीय युद्ध ४२

It is true, for—

धन्यास्ते ये न पश्यन्ति देशभंगं कुलक्षयं ।।

गरुड़ १ । ११५ । ३

Deliverance of the earth was the most cherished mission of Pṛithivī-raja III :—

सा धर्म धार धर उद्धरण । सामंत पंग युद्ध १

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He was verily a refuge and pale of the country :—

चहुआन चतुर चावद्दिसहि हिंदवान सब हथ्थ जिहि ।

कनवज्ज २७२

He was a Dharma-bandha[1] :—

धनि ध्रम्म बंध संभरि नृपति ।। दुर्गा केदार ७७

But Bhārateśvara fell an easy prey to the feminine charm of Saṁyogitā at a time, when utmost vigilence was the need of the hour. It alienated the two Rājapūta families of Northern India. 'Kanavaja—Ḍhillī-Vayara' (Kanavajja 510) i.e. the hostility between Kanauj and Delhi hastened the crisis. The hero was asleep in his pleasure-palace along with his newly wedded wife neglecting the Rājadharma. Muhammad Ghorī was lying in ambush on the outskirts of Delhi. Bhū-devī, herself, rushed to arouse the Loka-vīra from his slumber and sloth with a stern warning :—

निसा एक माधव सुमास ग्रीष्म रिति आगम ।
निसा जाम पच्छली, सुपन राजा लहि जागम ।।
सेत चीर छौनी पवित्त, आभ्रंन अलंकिय ।
मुँकत बंध त्राटंक बेनी अवलंकिय ।।
निज वारि धारि कज्जल नयन, हर हराह सद्दह करिय ।
मानिक्क राय बंसह विषम, रख्खि धरनी धरिय ।।

*

अंतिम युद्ध ८

Pṛithivīrāja asks her :—

का तू सुन्दरि हुं धरा किम हिता इच्छा परा वांछिता ।
की वांछा बर राज को वर रूची दातव्य रूपा नवा ।।
नं नं नं नृप जान दान रुचयं रूपान विद्वत्तया ।।
खड्ग भार सुभार दुत्तर अरि, सो मै वरं सुन्दरं ।। वहीं ९

The earth told him of the imminent danger to her. She was threatened by the enemies. But she failed to rouse her lord and saviour engrossed in sensuons slumber—

इम वसुधा सुपनंत दिय रजगति रजन विसारि ।
विलसत दिन ग्रीषम अरध, सुध पिय पंग कुआरि ।। अंतिम युद्ध १०

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1. Cf धर्म प्राचीर बंध,
An epithet given to Samudra Gupta in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription, l, 15.

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In these hours of unconsciousness and carelessnesss, Mohammad Ghorī sent his spies disguised as Sufīs :—

तब सु साहि गज्जनै, दूत ढिल्लीय पठाये ।
जु कछु मंतु कोमंतु अंत कहि कहि समुझाये ।।
लै आवहु जंगल नरेस, विव्वरि सव सुद्धिय ।
राजकाज चहुआन सकल सामंत सुबुद्धिय ।।
फुरमानु साहि सिर धरि लियौ, भेखु कियौ सोफी तिनहु ।
उम्भैह पख्ख पथ्थह चलै, कग्गरु काइथकर दिनह ।।

वही ११

The spies collected all the information from a treacherous traitor and went back to Mohammad Ghorī (Antima Yuddha 12), who immediately invaded Delhi (Antima Yuddha 13). There was, in Delhi, terror all around. People fled in panic and gathered at the residence of Rājaguru, Guru-rāma. They appealed:—

बढि अवाज ढिल्ली सहर, चढ्यो साहि सुलतान ।
धर अंगन मंगन रुरिग, सुनत सूर अकुलान् ।।

वही १४

The people protested against the government for its inability to give protection to the people of country:

गुर राज काज अवसर अवसि, प्रज पुकार मंडिय घनी ।

अंतिम युद्ध १६

It clearly exihibits the people's political consciousness. They implored the Rājaguru to warn the sovereign:

तुम सम राजन राज हित, बित रक्खन चित ध्रम्म ।
कान मंडि अरु कहन सुनि, तू धर रक्खन श्रम्म ।।

वही १७

People, again, added:

जिहि जियत धरणि धर अवर प्रभु,
जननी जाइ जुव्वन हरिय ।
बभन सुकज्ज इह अज्जतुम,
प्रज पुकार मंडी करिय ।। अंतिम युद्ध २१

Guru Rama and Chanda (the poet) went to Prithvīrāja. They scolded him:—

गौरी रत्तौ तुअ धरणि तूं गौरी रस रत्त ।। वही ३९

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Bhārateśvara[1] Pṛithivīrāja and Chanda Kavirāja were both devoted to the duty of giving protection to Ārya-deśa and Ārya-maryādā:—

तूँ आरज आजान, बार ढिल्ली धर अड्डा ।
तूँ रख्खन हिँदवान, पान राजन तो चड्डा ।।
अगर बुलाह गो बंभनां, गर बड्डा पड्डा मुहा ।।

वही १९४

Pṛithivīrāja rose to shoulder his responsibility which he never shirked, though he was enveloped in the feminine charms to forget his duty:—

दिन पलटै पलट्यौ न मनु, भुज वाहे सब सस्त्र ।

वही ३७६

He believed that Kshatriyas, soldiers, horses, elephants and all lived to serve their country:

पुनि प्रथिराज कुमार कहि नाहर राइ नरेस ।
जे क्षत्री हय गय सुभट, सेवैं सब हम देस ।।

नाहर रायकथा ७०

Such was the supremacy and sanctity of Desā-dharma which could not be deserted by a Kshatriya:

क्षत्रिय: सन्नदेशं स्वं त्यक्ष्यामि क्लीववद भयात् ।
धीरा भवाम्ब क: शक्त: वराक: मां प्रबाधितुम् ।।

Kathāsarita Sāgara. LXXIV. 64

Such was the ideal nature of Hindu patriotism—verily a cult—which led the brave Rājapūtas and their consorts to embrace fire and fury—unsullied and undaunted.

तस्मै नम: कविकर्मणे

राज तरंगिणी १ । ४६

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1. PV., X 1. 8.

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## Chapter VIII

## AN ERA OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

These are the age-old traditions of Indian patriotism and political consciousness embodied in the sources of Hindu culture and civilisation, tradition and History viz., Vedas, Epics and Purāṇas which inspired and influenced, directly or indirectly, the entire development of Indian literature, classical saṁskrit literature, Buddhist and Jain works as well as Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa and Hindī literature. It is evident from what has been said above that patriotism had developed as a Mother-cult (jananī-bhakti) and this 'sva–deśa rāga' was converted into 'sva-dharma'—an ethical ideal based on the well-being and the independence of the country threatened by Yavanas and Mlechchhas.

The first and foremost expression of patriotism is given by the versatile author of Mudrā-rākshasa Kavi. Viśākha-datta, in his drama as its Bharata vākya. It runs:

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री
म्लेछैरुद्वेज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धु भृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः ।

Mudrā-rākshasa, VII. 19.

i. e.

"May King Chandra Gupta with his prosperous connections and servants long protect the earth, he who is a kingly manifestation of that self-existent God, to whose tusk, when He had assumed the form of the Boar fitted to grant protection, the earth, of Yore, clung, amidst universal destruction, and on whose arms, she now leans, being frightened by the Mlechchhas".

This verse exhibits the intense devotion to the earth styled Bhūta-dhātrī, The Mother, which was threatened by the Mlechchhas and hence there was an urgent emergency

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of giving protection (avanavidhi) to her. Chandra Gupta like Vārāha-Vishṇu appeared as its saviour. The entire Hindu Medieval Thought pulsates and permeates with this national consciousness and patriotic spirit to protect the country and culture. It could be accomplished only through the Kauṭilyan politics as well as with the help of such conscientious and faithful ministers as Kauṭilya. The entire drama presents before the nation and its builders, the ideal politics summarised by Viśākhadatta :

गुणवत्युपाय निलये स्थिति हेतोः साधिके त्रिवर्गस्य ।
मद्भवन नीतिविद्ये कार्यादार्ये द्रुतमुपेहि ।।

Mudrārākshasa, I. 5.

Here nīti-vidyā or the science of politics based on six guṇas, four upāyas, three śaktis are mentioned as the only basis of salvation and siddhi in that age threatened by the Mlechchhas. Thus the drama represents an important episode of our intellectual revolution founded by Kumārila and Śankara. It received great impetus from the writings of Somadeva Sūrī, Daṇḍī, Kshemendra, Harisheṇa, Jayānaka, Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja (and other writer of Rājataraṅgiṇī named Śrivara Paṇḍita) and many such selfless poets like Māgha etc. This tradition of patriotic poetry imbued with the spirit of national consciousness led people and princes to sacrifice their home and wealth, sons and wives, at the altar of the Mother-land. There has been discussion among the scholars about the age of Mudrārākshasa. But prof. Wilson ascribed it to the epoch of the Muslim invasions. That is true and the play reflects the political condition of India in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era.[1]

Viśākhadatta was inspired by the following observations of Somadeva Sūrī recorded in his Yaśastilaka :

दुर्योधनः समर्थोऽपि दुर्मन्त्री प्रलयं गतः ।
राज्यमेकशरोऽप्याप सन्मन्त्री चन्द्रगुप्तकः ।।

Yaśastilaka, III. 243.

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1. 'Age of Mudrārākshasa'-a paper was discussed by me in the International Congress of Orientalists, January 1964, Delhi.

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Yaśastilaka, a wonderful champū of Somadeva, is one of the most important work of a mighty medieval minstrel of India. Despite his Jain-faith he stood as a dynamite force of national integration and champion of patriotism.

After the death of Harsha disintegration followed in the country. Thānā (Mahārāshṭra) and Bhroach were invaded by the Arabs in vain, about 636 A. D. But, in the end, Sindha fell to the arms of the Arabs in 712 A. D. under the leadership of Muhammad-bin-Qāsim. The envy between Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists as well as anti-national character of the latter led to the foundation of alien rule in Sindha.[1] But these trends and traits of Saindhava Buddhists aroused the country for national synthesis, solidarity and strength. Kumārila and then Śankara prepared the ground for religious synthesis. The writers like Somadeva Sūrī, Daṇḍi and Viśākhadatta paved the way for successful resistance to the surging tides of the Muslim armies towards the South, East and North.

Elphinstone observes: "The Mahometan writers assert that Cāsim had begun to plan a march to Canouj on the Ganges, and an almost contemporary historian states that he had reached a place that seems Oudipur (Udaipur in Mewar); .....it is inconceivable that he should have projected such an expedition, even if he could have left Sind without an army of occupation".[2] Elphinstone adds that "The advance of the Mahomedan arms ceased with the life of Cāsim. His conquests were made over to his successor Temim, in the hands of whose family they remained till the down fall of the house of Ommeia, that is, for about thirty-six years; when by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, the Mussalmans were expelled by the Rajput tribe of Sūmera, and all their Indian conquests restored to Hindus, who retained possession for nearly 500 years"[3]. The eminent historian argues that "It seems

1. Chāchanāmā, Elliot and Dowson Vol. I, pp. 138-153. 'Araba Aur Bhārata ke Sambaṅdha'—Saiyed Suleman Nadavi, pp. 26-21.
2. Elphinstone: History of India, p. 303,
3. Ibid., p. 304,

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extraordinary that the Arabs, who had reached to Multan during their first ardour for conquest and conversion should not have overrun India as easily as they did Persia, and should now allow themselves to be beaten out of a province where they had once a firm footing ;.....and although the proverbial riches of India, and the inoffensive character of its inhabitants, seemed to invite the invader, yet there were discouraging circumstances, which may not have been without effect on the blind zeal of the Arabs".[1]

But these forces and circumstances which made the Arab conquest of Sindha a "mere episode in the history of India and Islam, a triumph without results" have not been properly assessed. It is generally believed, as stated by Elphinstone, that after the death of Muhammad-bin-Qāsim, Arab governors did not try to extend their power and influence in the other parts of India. But historically it does not hold good.

Junaid is stated to have carried out the work of expansion of Muslim sway. "He sent a force against Uzain, and he also sent Habid, son of Marra, with an army against the country of Maliba (Malwa). They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailamān and Jurz,.....".[2] We know from Chācha-nāmā that similarly Abu Hakim was sent at the head of ten thousand horses towards Kanauj, to convey a letter from Khalifa and with instructions to invite chief to embrace Muhammadanism, to send tribute and make his submission. He himself went with the army to the boundary of Kāshmīr, which was called the five rivers (Pañchanada or Panjab).....".[3] But the ruler of Kanauj refused with the remarks that both the powers should decide their fate in the war.[4] Thus it is evident from the records of the Muslim historians that the Arab Government as well as its

1. Elphinstone, History of India, p. 305.
2. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I "Historians of Sind. p. 126,
3. Ibid., Chāch-Nāmā p. 207,
4. Ibid., p, 208.

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military generals made every bid with all its velocity to find footholds in the interiors of India particularly in the provinces of Gurjara (jurz), Mālva, Mewār, Kanauj and Kāśamīra. But they failed in their missions. They survived behind the city wall of Multan with its Sun-temple.

India survived this onslaught because of patriotic zeal to defend her honour and culture. Yaśovarman of Kanauj and Lalitāditya Muktāpīda are believed to have arrested their surging tides towards east and north respectively.

Navasārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja (year 490-C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 137-145) throw very important light on the Arab invasion of India and the defeat of the Arab forces. "In 11. (lines) 22-33 the record describes graphically the Arab invasion of the Chālukyan kingdom and the fierce fight which was fought in the Navasārī Vishaya. We are told that the Tājika army which had conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings, invaded the district of Navasārikā during the course of its campaign to conquer all southern kings. There they were opposed by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin. A fierce battle was fought, in which pulakeśin won a decisive victory. There upon the illustrious Vallabha-narendra, who was plainly the contemporary Chālukya suzerain, in token of his appreciation of Pulakeśin's heroism, conferred upon him the following four titles, viz., Dakshiṇāpatha sādhāra (the Pillar of the Deccan), Chalukkakulālaṅkāra (ornament of the Chālukya family), Pṛithivīvallabha (the Lover of the earth), Anivartaka-nivartayitrī (the Repeller of the unrepellable."[1] Dr. Mirashi observes that "The vigorous style of the description of the battle, which is unique in inscriptional literature, suggests that the present record dated (Kalachuri Era) K. 490 was composed soon after it was fought".[2] The distinguished scholar asserts again, "This raid is evidently later than that which was directed against Broach during the governorship of Junaid ; for, as we have seen, the latter

1. C. I. I. Vol. IV, pp. 138-139.
2. Ibid., pp. 138-139.

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must have taken place in circa 725 A.C., as Junaid was succeeded by Tamīn about 726 A.C. The raid against Navasārī is not recorded by Muslim Chroniclers probably because the Arabs this time sustained a crushing defeat. The graphic and detailed description of the fight, which for its vigour is unsurpassed in Inscriptional literature, suggests that it must have been composed soon after the fight".[1]

Repeatedly these inscriptions assert that with the water of the edge of sword, the fury and fire of the Tājikas (Arabs), who oppressed all the people, was extinguished in the city of Valabhī:

असिधारा जलेन शमित: प्रासभं वलभीपते: पुरे ।
येनाशेषलोकसंताप कलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो ।।

These observations show explicitly the spirit and zeal as well as the national urge of the princes to preserve their liberty and to give protection to the people oppressed by the terrific fire of the Arab invasions.

We have, further, evidence to show that the Kshatriya rulers also made vigorous efforts to guard their north western frontiers from the danger from this side. The Sañjan Copper Plate Inscription of Amoghavarsha I (S. E. 793 = 871 A. D.) tells us that the entire country extending from the Himālayas to the Setu was devastated and damaged by the armies of the 'elephants' and kings. Hence Dantidurga, the best of his family, performed the ceremony of Hiraṇya-garbha at Ujjayinī, where he appointed the king of the Gurjaras and others as the Pratihāras of that quarter:

ततोभवद्दन्तिघटाभिर्मद्दनो हिमाचलादस्थित सेतुसीमत: ।
खलीकृतोदृत्त महीप मण्डल: कुलाग्रणीयो भुवदन्तिदुर्ग्गराट ।। ८ ।।
हिरण्यर्गभराजन्यैरुज्जयन्यां यदासितं प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरेशा-
दिराजकम् ।

Here we find a poetic allusion to the Pratihāra rulers of Gurjara deśa who acted as the defender of the North Wes-

1. Ibid., pp. LXIV-LXV.
2. C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 99, Verse 2; p. 106, verse 2 (Second Plate).

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tern India against the invasions of the Arabs. Nāgabhata I, and II as well as Mihirabhoja stemmed the tide of the world conquerors. Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja clearly and graphically relates the story of their resistance offered to Tājikas, Turushkas and Mlechchhas and it is here that the true significance of the title as well as office of Pratihāra is fully explained:

राम: पौलस्त्य हिंस्र क्षत विहृति समित कर्म चक्रे पलाशै: ।
श्लाघ्यस्तस्यानुजोसौ.....संख्ये ।
सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्ड: प्रतिहरणविधेय: प्रतीहार आसीत् ।

Gawalior Stone Ins. of Bhoja Verse 3

तद्वंशे प्रतिहारकेतनभृति त्रैलोक्यरक्षास्पदे ।
देवो नागभट: पुरातनमुर्नेमूर्त्तिर्बभूवाद्भुतं ।
येनासौ सुकृतप्रमाथिबलवन्म्लेच्छाधिपाक्षौहिणी: ॥

Ibid., Verse 4

i. e. Nāgabhata I, the wonderful personality of the Pratihāra dynasty and the incarnation of Vishṇu, destroyed the powerful armies of the Mlechchhas.

Similarly Nāgabhata II also destroyed the armies of Saindhava king as well as those of Turushkas (Gwalior Stone Ins. of Bhoja, verses 8-11).

Rāmabhadra, defender of the faith (trātā dharmasya) also destroyed the violent and wicked people (Krūra-satvān) and vicious people (pāpāchārān, Gwalior Stone Ins., verse 12). Mihira Bhoja, dispelled the darkness and distress from the surface of the earth by teaching a proper lesson to the terrible asuras (i. e. Mlechchhas) by the force of his weapons:

य: शशासासुरान्घोरान्स्त्रैणेनास्त्रैक बृत्तिना ॥

Gwalior Stone Ins of Bhoja, V. 22.

He was aptly styled Ādi-vārāha.

This spirit of stubborn resistance to defend their country and culture against the pressure of the world conquerors was based on the patroiotism of the Kshatriya rulers, as well as the political consciousness of the sages and seers.

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Among these medieval thinkers Somadeva Sūrī, the author of Nīti-Vākyāmṛitaṁ and Yaśastilaka, stands as the greatest reformer of India in his age. There is a close parallelism between his observations and the contemporary epigraphic records. There is unanimity among statements of the Muslim writers, Somadeva Sūrī and the inscriptional evidence on the invasion of Bāhirikā Vishaya which lay not far from Navasārikā (Navasari in Gujrat) mentioned in the Navasārī Plates of Yuvarāja Śryaśraya-śilāditya year 421 (=C 670-671 A. C.)[1]. From the other epigraphs, as pointed above, the region was the victim of Tājika fire and fury. Somadeva, however, refers to the siege of Bāhirikā (paryasta-vāharikaih—Yaśastilaka, I, p. 18, kāśi Edn.) Bāhirikā of the inscriptions and yaśastilaka is the same as Baharimad invaded by the Arab army during the governorship of Junaid.[2] Its suburbs were burnt.[3] It is this terrific fire styled Tājikānala which oppressed all the people (aśesha-loka-saṁtāpa-kalāpadaḥ) repeatedly mentioned in the epigraphs noticed above). Somadeva also refers to it as 'anala-jwālā-karāla' which causd miseries to all the creatures :

अनलज्वाला कराल·····दहनदह्यमान सकलानपि रसान्ग्रसितुम्·····-धूसरित समस्त दिगन्तराल·····भुवि दिवि दिशि विदिश च वैश्वानरसृष्टय इव·····लोक परिताप करेषु·····प्रलयकालपावक पातभीतास्विव·····दुःसह विदाहदेह संदोहासु वनदेवीषु·····ज्वलदार्द्रदारुदारुणासु दीर्घाह निदाघ·····संहारसमय दिवसेष्विव····· ।

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1. C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. 124-125. This epigraph records a grant of the Chālukya ruler.
2. "Observations on Bāhirikā Vishaya"—paper discussed by me in Indian History Congress, Poona, 1963.
3. Elliot & Dowson, History of India, Vol. I. p. 126

   "He then sent his officers to Marmad Maṇḍala, Dhanaj, and Barus (Broach)·····He sent a force against Uzain and he also sent Habid, son of Marra with an army against the country of Māliba (Malwa). They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs."

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This terrible fire[2] raged in the regions round Marusthala.[3] People and animals found no place of refuge :

कं देशमाश्रयतु डिम्भवती कुरङ्गी ॥

Yaśastilaka, I. 66

Such were the violent fires which caused troubles to the people for none of their faults, but the demons like vātāpi caused these horrors.[4] Really it was a great catastrophe and national calamity caused by the black scourage of Kalikāla destroying the country and culture :

कलिकाल कायकाला: शोकादिव दहन बान्धवक्षयजात् ।
अंगारा: शल्यधरा: क्षयक्षपा तारकाकारा: ॥

Yaśastilaka, I. 93.

The poet, thus, repeatedly, refers to the troublous times coused by Kālāgni[5] and Kālotpāta.[6] Hence the first and foremost act for the stability of the country was the national unity exhibited by the maryādā-gāna-the national song :

काश्मीर केसरारुणित स्तुति मुखर सुरयोषिदलकवलयादा विदितादुदयाचलदरी संदोहादचलदरी संदोहवदमृतापगा प्रवाहापहसितयश:.....देशादासेतुबन्धमेखला.....मन्दर धराधर नितम्बाद्धराधर.....मन्दाकिनीतरंगदन्तुरदरवदनाच्चा तुहिनशैलचूलिका चक्रवालात्तुहिन शैलचूलिका चक्रवाल त्रिलासीनि गायन्ति गुणविजृम्भितानि जनपद गोप्य: ॥

Yaśasatilaka, I, pp. 47-48, Kāśī Edn.

Further, again, Somadeva asserts the unity of this land surrounded by Himāchala in the north, Setubandha in the south, Udayagiri in the east and Maṇdara hill in the west.

Yaśastilaka, II. 43.

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1. Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, Āśvasa I, pp. 64-68 (Nirnaya Sāgara Press Edn.)
2. Yaśastilaka, I, 60-64, a graphic account of the heat is given in these verses.
3. Ibid., I. p. 68.
   Ibid., p. 66.
4. Ibid., p. 82.
5. Yaśastilaka, I, 86.
6. Ibid., I, 82.
   Ibid, pp. 47, 48, 55.

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The glory of the King named Yaśorgha, the hero of the story, was based on the protection of the country and the people Yaśastilaka II. 42.

Hence Somadeva asserts the efficacy of sword for the destruction of the enemies, which could be accomplished by means of arms alone :

धिवतं खड्गं रणे यस्य प्रीतिः शत्रुगलग्रहे ।
दोर्दण्ड एव यस्यासीदतो विद्विष्ट दण्ड्नः ।।

Yaśastilaka, II. 36

The country, then, became free from the troubles :

निष्कण्टक महीभागो निर्विपक्ष महोदय. ।
निर्व्याबाध प्रजः प्राप यः परं नाहवोत्सवम् ।।

Ibid., II. 39

The poet observes that the Kshatriya rulers representing the lions were devoted to the unity of the country based on chivalrous enterprise and the destruction of Matta-Matańga (Mlechchha) with ease :—

सिंहानां शौर्यकेलीषु चतुरम्भोधि वीक्षणे ।
मत्तद्विपविनोदेषु सा बबन्ध मनः किल ।।

Ibid., II. 61.

It is the wonderful simile representing the struggle between the two forces in Indian history regularly employed by the Indian poets from 8th century A. D. to the 18th century A.D. in the literature, sculpture, epigraphs and coins. Somadeva, too, distinguishes between two types of elephants viz., araṇya vāraṇa[1] i.e. wild and wicked elephants devoted to wilful acts (svachchhaṅdāchāra)[2] based on demonic traits (asuravṛitti)[3] and dharoddhāra.....Kariṇa i.e. the elephants who gave support to the earth.[4]

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3. Ibid., I, pp. 87-88.
4. Ibid., II. 39.
1. Yaśastilaka, p. 43, etc.
2. Ibid., p., 42.
3. Ibid., p., 44.
4. Ibid., p., 42.

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As such, Rājaśekhara the court poet of the Pratihāra rulers asserts :—

मातंगानामभावे मदमलिन मुखैः प्राप्तमाशाकरीन्द्रैः
जाते रत्नापहारे दिशि दिशि ततयो भान्तिचिंतामणीनाम् ।
छिन्नेषूद्यानवापी तरुषु विरचिताः कल्पवृक्षा रिपूणां
यस्योदञ्चत्रिवेलावलय फलभुजां मानसी सिद्धिरासीत् ।।

Kāvya M., 91.13-16.

Here, too, he distinguishes between Mātaṅgas and Āśākarīndras.[1]

The same ideal and inspirational motif is immortalised by the contemporary artist who presented these dharoddhāraka elephants in Kailāśa cave temple at Ellora (Deccan). Priyādāsa, the commentator of Bhaktamāla asserts in the beginning of this monumental work the role of Bhakti cult against such elephants :—

भक्ति तरु पौधा ताहि विघ्न डर छेरि हूको ,
बारिदे बिचारिवारि सींच्यो सतसंग सों ।
लग्योई बढ़न गोंदा चहुँ दिशि कढ़न सों ,
चढ़न अकाश यश फैल्यो बहुरंग सों ।।
संत उर आल बाल शोभित विशाल छाया ,
जिये जीव जाल ताप गये यो प्रसंग सों ।
देखौ बढ़वार जाहि अजाहू की शंका हुती ,
ताहि पेड़ बाँधे झूलैं हाथी जीते जंग सों ।।

Priyādāsa Tikā, Verse 6.

These observations reflect the victory of Bhakti movement based on truth and non-violence over Matta-Mātaṅgas, the Mlechchhas. Rājaśekhara has also referred to the discomfiture of Mātaṅgas at the hands of Āśā karīndra. This theme of our national struggle is remarkably represented in the sculptures of Kailaśā temple at Ellora which was built in the age of Somadeva. The massive elephants supporting the temple above its plinth represent the dharoddhāra elephants. The other type of elephants is aptly called by

1. For further discussion see my Prāchīna Bhārata Kā Bhaugolik Svarūpa, pp. 99-105.

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Daṇḍī as 'matta-gaja', and Vyāla-hastī,[1] devoted to violence (himsā-vihārī).[2] Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya of Jayānaka explicitly mentions the violence of the Mātaṅgas, who represented Mlechchhas. The spirited poet, laments the loss of pṛithvīrāja III and its effects upon the country and culture. He makes Brahmā pray to vishṇu. Braḥmā has been associated with Pushkara as its presiding deity. Pṛithvīrāja III is portrayed in the form of Rāma,[3] an incarnation of Vishṇu. After the defeat of Pṛithvīrāja III in the second battle of Tarāin, observes Dr. A. L. Srivastava, that, "in all the conquered places, Hindu temples were destroyed and mosques erected in their places.....At Ajmer idol temples were demolished and the famous college of the Chauhān ruler, Vigraha Rāja, was converted into a mosque".[4] Dr. Dashrath Sharma holds that "On the death of Pṛithvīrāja III, his son Govinda was made the ruler of Ajmer on the payment of a heavy tribute. But the Chauhāns had still some fight left in them; they were not disposed to submit so readily to the Muslim invader".[5] This spirit of resistance was kindled and sharpened in the hearts of the defenders of the country and culture by the poets and saints. Jayānaka earnestly appeals:

त्वया हरे तापसतामुपेत्य सख्ये गृहीते हरिणैरिदानीम् ।
निवासभूमिमम पुष्करं तदास्कन्दि मातंग महाभयेन ।।

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, I. 49.

Jonarāja, the commentator, explains:

हरिर्विष्णुस्सिंहश्च हे हरे त्वया ऋषितामाश्रित्य मृगैः सह निवासे गृहीते सति मत्स्थानं पुष्करं मातंगेभ्यो म्लेच्छेभ्यो महाभयेनास्कन्दि आक्रान्तम् । सिंहे च शान्तप्राये सति मातंगेभ्यो हस्तिभ्यो भयेन स्थानमास्कन्द्यते ।

i.e. O Hari, by Your silence and a life of renunciation, in the company of deers, this sacred land of ours is devasted by the Mātaṅgas, the elephants i.e. Mlechchhas.

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1. Daśa Kumāra Charita, Uttra VIII, p. 267.
2. Ibid., Uttara. IV, pp. 167-168, 169.
3. Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, I. 33 etc.
4. The Sultanate of Delhi, p. 101.
5. Early Chauhān Dynasties, p. 100.

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The poet asserts that due to inactivity of the lion the country was terrorised by the elephants. This idea of inactivity and laziness on the parts of the defenders of the country is lamented in the patriotic exhortations of Somadeva, who asserts :

सिंह: संनिहितेऽपि सीदति गजेशीर्यत्क्रमस्पन्दनो ।
मध्याह्नेऽपि न जातशष्पकवल: प्राय: कुरंगीपति: ।।
वत्स: कुण्ठितकण्ठ नालवलन पातुं न शक्त: स्तनं ।
वक्रं नैति विभातकर्मकरणे पाणिर्द्विजानामपि ।।

Yaśastilaka, I. 54.

The Commentator explains :—

गजे हस्तिनि संनिहितेऽपि निकटवर्तिन्यपि सिंह: सीदति बुभुक्षितस्तिष्ठति। गजं मारयित्वा न भक्षयति इत्यर्थ: ।

*i.* e. It is strange, if lion dies of hunger, though its traditional and appropriate animal of prey, the elephant stands close to it. The same idea and spirit of resistance is expressed by Bhavabhūti—

रिपु: प्रत्यासत्तेरहिरिव भयं नो जनयति । Mvc., IV. 7.

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya asserts that Mahā-mātaṅgabhaya (The great elephants' menace) was caused by the violent armies of the Mlechchhas at Pushkara in Ajmer and its neighbourhood :

चक्रे जगत्सर्ग महाध्वरान्ते मयापि यत्रावभृथाभिषेक: ।
तत्राधुनादेवगृहाग्रहार हिंसाक्लमं म्लेच्छचमूश्छिनत्ति ।।

Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, I. 50.

Jonarāja comments :

"जगत्सर्ग एव कृतं महाध्वरस्तत्समाप्तौ यत्र स्थाने मयाप्यवभृथस्नानं कृतं शुद्धचर्थमिति शेष: । तत्राधुना म्लेच्छा: प्रासादादिध्वंसेन खेदं निवारयन्ति । तथाविधे पुण्यायतने म्लेच्छा: पापमाचरन्तीत्यर्थ: ।"

Ibid., p. 19. (P. V., I. 50).

Thus it is evident that these Mlechchhas styled Mātaṅgas (elephants) mentioned above (Pṛitihvīrāja Vijaya, I. 49-50) were also known as Garjana Mūtaṅgas "which term must mean the Gaznavites, if on the authority of the Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya itself, we equate Garjana with Ghazna and the Mātaṅgas with Muslims".[1] Thus the history of struggle for

1. Early Chauhān Dynasties, p. 40; for further discussion see my "Prāchīna Bhārata kā Bhaugolika Svaroop", pp. 99-105.

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Indian freedom in the Middle Ages is marked by the upsurge of passionate patriotism and keen sense of struggle, sacrifice and service to the cause of country.

An other point worth notice is the representation of Mother Earth in the form of a woman. Whenever she was in trouble, she is represented to have approached the Saviour, human or divine. Such was the conception of Bhū-devī, who was attached with and devoted to king as his wife :[1]

राजा तत्प्रिया पृथिवी परा ॥ वृहत्कथाकोष १०२ । १

As the sacred earth has been protected by Vishṇu,[2] the kings were also believed to be representing the incarnations of Vishṇu. Nāgabhaṭ I and II and Mihirabhoja of the Pratihāra dynasty, and Chāhamāna, the founder of the Chauhāna dynasty, represented the Primeval Man (Purātana Purūsha). Pṛithivīrāja III is mentioned as the incarnation of Rāma,[3] and Hari.[4]

Thus we see that our country was visualised as a living image of a woman who was none else than Bhārata Mātā. Pṛithvīrāja Rāso, an other epic poem of our national heritage also presents an image of Mātṛi Bhūmi who appeared before Pṛithivīrāja III (Bhūmi-Svapna, 32).

She was dressed in yellow robes, with the auspicious mark of vermillion on her forehead and hair falling to and fro ; she was also decked with the other jewels and ornaments (Pṛithivīrāja Rāso, Bhūmi Svapna, 33).

The Earth dressed like a charming lady told Pṛithivīrāja that he was her king and lord, i.e. husband ; hence Pṛithivīrāja asked her :

क्यों ऊभी इहि काल ।

Bhūmi Svapna 34.

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1. Tumain Inscription of Kumara Gupta I.
   Garuḍ Purāṇa, I. XV. 127 : King is styled mahībhartā.
2. Skanda Purāṇa, II. i. 20.60 :

   पृथिवी वैष्णवी पुण्या पृथिवी विष्णुपालिता ।

3. P. V., I. 13.
4. Ibid., I. 49.

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i. e. "Why are you disturbed and distressed to day." It reflects the coming deluge. She replied that she and her treasures could be enjoyed only by the heroic people (Bhūml Svapna, 35).

Thus we have our traditional motto of patriotism and national stability viz., Vīra bhogyā vasuṅdharā. Vīra or Śūra is defined as a saviour and champion of earth which was distressed at this time, as is apparent from the terms 'aṅdhārī dāruṇa niśā i. e. dark night of distress (Bhūmi Svapna 32). Hence the earth sought the protection of Pṛithivīrāja III, in the same way as a wife seeks the hand of her husband for protection. Undoubtedly the earth was hard pressed by the repeated thursts of Turkish armies comprising Barbaras, Śvagaṇas (Sogdenians), Daradas and Khasas, the wild and war-like tribes of Central Asia. Sindha, Afghanistan and Panjab were lost to the world conquerors who were now knocking at the doors of our country. Hence the earth's bewailing shrieks echoed and reechoed. She sought a hero and an adventurer of pure Kshatriya breed who could protect the earth and cow like 'Śesha-śāyī Vishṇu and Haladhara Balarāma :

शेषोऽपि बलैकरूपो गोरक्षणं साहसिकः करोति ॥

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, III. 109.

She cries for help :

यः कोपि वा साहसिकोऽस्ति लोके यस्यास्ति वा क्षत्रियतावदाता ।
कृपा कृपाणाभरणोस्ति यो वा स पातु मां मृत्युभयादमुष्मात् ॥

Pṛithivīrāja Vijay, VI 100.

The valorous Kshatriya responds :

श्रुत्वेति तत्कालगुरभवद्भिर्मेघैस्स संक्रामण दीक्षयेव ॥
सौदामिनी दृष्टिभिरीक्ष्यमाणः — — ⌣ निघोषिमिदं बभाषे ॥

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, VI. 111.

"O valiant and wicked hordes ! wait you have, fortunately, been watched and traced. Leave her (the

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earth) soon, otherwise, I am coming to destroy you, O wretches !" :

अरे वराका: करुण प्रलापं भाग्यैर्दृशोगोचरमागतं मे ।
विमुञ्चतेनं द्रुतमन्यथा व स्तदा·····दस्मिन् ॥

अरे वराका: हे अधमा: करुणाक्रन्दिनंस्वभाग्यैर्मम·····गोचरमेनं यूयं त्यजत् अन्यथा यदि न यूयं त्यजथ तदा·····युष्मानुपहरामीत्यर्थ:····· सेनापरिवातम·····स ॥

Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, VI. 112.

Thus the country got a saviour in the personality of Prithivīrāja III :

सनाथां पृथिवीं मत्वा राजपुत्रस्य जन्मना ।
रजोपि यस्पृशुस्तस्यास्त्रासादिव न मारुता ॥

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, VIII. 4.

The versatile poet asserts that the nature of kingship and its title was justified only in the restoration of the earth's sanctity and Pṛithvīrāja, the king of the earth, fully upheld the social order as well as national heritage and prestige of the country :

पृथिवीं पवित्रतां नेतुं राजशब्दं कृतार्थताम् ।
चतुर्वर्णधनं नाम पृथ्वीराज इति व्यधात् ॥

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, VIII. 30.

The mother earth became happy, regaining its sanctity and prosperity in the lap of Pṛtihivīrāja III :

पूर्णै: पुण्यैस्मुत्सङ्गे कृत्वा कारणमानुषम् ।
पूर्णपुण्याभवद्धात्री पवित्रत्वमवाप च ॥

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, VIII. 31.

It was for this reason that Pṛithivīrāja Chauhāna had been believed to be an incarnation of Rāma, who destroyed the demons. In the observations cited above from the two contemporary works we find a close parallelism in the sentiments and the spirit of the Indian Nation in the middle of the 12th Century A. D. which caused a revolutionary change in the of conception Hindu Kingship.

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King's highest duty was to give protection to the earth and shelter to those who sought it irrespective of their caste, creed and colour :

मेछ मुखन दिख्खे नृपति विपतिपरी दुहु क्रंम ।
इक सरनाई कर ग्रहन, इकधररख्खन ध्रंम ।।

पृथ्वीराज रासो, हुस्सेनकथा, १३

Pṛithivīrāja gave shelter to a fugitive Husain and it was also one of the causes of hostilities between Pṛithvīrāja III and Mohammad Ghorī. Rāṇā Hammīra too had given shelter to fugitive Mohammad Sāha (Mahimā Sāha). These Kshatriya kings died in the battle field and their wives and children burnt themselves in the burning fires.[1] Jaitra asked his brothers : "This is our country, hence it has to be served with our blood. From the very dawn of our history it was the sacred duty of the kings to sacrifice their lives at the altar of Mother earth. We should also defend it at the cost of our rest, sleep, hunger and attachment :

तब भीम वत्त सलखान, जैत बंधौ उच्चारिय ।
भूमि तात अप्पनी, रुधिर छटै गल सारिय ।।
आदि अवनि व्यौहार, धनी धर धारण खंडै ।
धन लुट्टत गोआल, परह पुक्कार न छंडै ।।
दिक्खियै दीन घर घर फिरै, गरूअत्त न हरूअत्तनै ।
निद्रा पियास छुध मोह तजि, दुःख सुख इक्क न गिनै ।।

पृथ्वीराज रासो, भोलाराय १५

Chanda then reminds his countrymen of the philosophy of Gītā[2] and the duty of kings, who are subjected to infamy if they surrender the earth without fighting :

हरुअ घरघ्घर बुल्लिये कुजस कहै सब कोइ ।
बहु उचार मुख उच्चरै जुद्ध बिना इलि खोइ ।।

पृथ्वीराज रसो, भोलाराय १६

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1. Hammīra-vijaya of Naya Chandra Sūri :

येनोच्चः शरणागतस्य महिमा साहेर्निमित्तं क्षणा—
दात्मा पुत्र कलत्र भृत्य निवहो नीतः कथा शेषताम् ।।

quoted by Dr. Ishwari Prasad (History of Medieval India, Allahabad 1945, p. 226., fn. 6)

2. Gītā, II, 33-37.

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Such were the ideals of Hindu nationalism and sense of duty to defend Mother earth ingrained into the minds of our heroes that they fought for centuries and centuries together for the sake of freedom. These heroes believed that the death in the battle field for the sake of the country threatened by Mlechchhas led them to celestial abode of bliss and beatitude :

रजपूत मुक्ति खिति खग्ग खिरि विधि बिनान यों नृम्मयो ।
पृथ्वीराज रासो, भोलाराय, ४८

Thus it was the dharma of a kshatriya to liberate the country with the force of his sharp sword :

खगधार ध्रम्म खत्री तनौ ।। रासो, अन्तिम युद्ध, १८७
सा धर्म धार धर उद्धरण ।। रासो, सामंतपंगयुद्ध, १

He was to defend Dharā and Dharma, country and its heritage :

धम्म धरणी प्रतिपालय । रासो, अन्तिम युद्ध १२५

Pṛithivīrāja III had all the virtues of a hero, who fell a prey to the vices of his race and human nature. He suffered from the romantic ideals of kshatriya chivalry and lust for feminine charms. In such an atmosphere of complacency and delinquency, Mother Earth appeared, once again, to awaken her saviour from the sensuous slumber in the palace of Saṁyogitā, as Muhammad Ghorī had invaded the country, weak and divided. The Earth, first appeared before Samara Vikrama and said :

पहु अच्छ बधू बीरह तनी, मो तन गोरी संग है ।।
रासो, अन्तिम युद्ध २

The same Earth comes to arouse the Bhārateśvara from his sleep, warning him against his negligence of the duty of her protection (Rāso, Aṅtima Yuddh, 8).

The Earth plainly told him that she was now to fall in the hands of the enemies, as Pṛithivīrāja III had lost his grip over the sword due to his attachment to queen and

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pleasures neglecting his duty. The earth asserted that she belonged to one who had power to wield the sword (Rāso, Aṅtima Yuddha, 9).

The invasion of Delhi by Mohammad Ghorī caused terror in the minds of the people, who sought the shelter of Rājaguru. Guru Rāma was asked by the people to bring the king to his senses.[1]

Guru Rāma and the poet Chanda went to the royal palace. The royal preceptor informed the king of the coming deluge;

गौरी रत्तौ तुअ धरणि, तू गौरी रस रत्त ।

Rāso, Antima Yuddha, 39.

i. e. "Ghori aspires your country and you are attached with fair damsel". The hero was thus told that he, as a king, was wedded with Dharaṇī and not with a lady. He was plainly warned of the consequences, the impending national calamity :

पहिली औली बंचियौ, भुम्मी जाय नरयंद ।। अन्तिम युद्ध ४४

i.e. "The country was now to be lost". For Ghorī, the king of Gajjana, had invaded it with a large army comprising 10,000 elephants, 10,00,000 horses and many reputed military leaders. It had created a danger, for the old allies and feudatories of Pṛithivīrāja were now no more with him. They were all killed in previous wars particularily the one fought by him against Jaichanda :[2]

गज्जनैसु आयो असंभ, सह सेन सकिल्लिय ।
दै चादरि आदर अनंद दिल्लिय दिसि मिल्लिय ।।
दस हजार वारुणि विसाल, दस लख्खि तुरंगम ।
तह अनेक भर सुभर, मीर गंभीर अभंगम ।।
आवृत्त बत्त चहुआन सुनि, प्रान रख्खि प्रारम्भ करि ।
सामन्त नहीं सामन्त करि, जनि बोरहि ढिल्ली सुधरि ।।

रासो, अन्तिम युद्ध ४५

1. Aṅtima Yuddha, 14-21.
2. Ibid., 148.

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Pṛithivīrāja made preparations for war to liberate the country.[1] He and his men fought with great courage and prowess, but he was defeated. This was the night fall of Ancient India, for the death of Pṛithivīrāja III created a void in the North Indian politics. It was filled by Tājikas, Turks, and Tartārs who let loose all their fire and fury destroying home and hearth, temples and monasteries, literature and libraries. The Ancient India came to an inglorious end and Medieval India with the foundation of Delhi Sultanate began.

But it can be asserted on the basis of what has been cited above supported by the contemporary evidences that the country, its people and princes lacked neither patriotism nor political consciousness from Vedic times to the age of Pṛithvīrāja III.

Mr. S. M. Jaffar observes, "With the establishment of the Muslim Empire in India, Islam became supreme and it launched upon a new career of conversion. As a result, Hinduism was adversely affected. Some attracted by the teachings of the Muslim faith, others actuated by economic advantages, went over to the religion of their rulers. For full five centuries this state of affairs continued uninterrupted, but when conversions were accelerated into mass movements, there arose in this country a host of Hindu religious reformers who made earnest efforts to recover the lost sheep. The method they adopted to achieve their object was the Bhakti movement, which preached the unity of God and propagated the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Thus, while the Reformation was revolutionising the religious life of Europe. the Bhakti Movement – analogous to the Reformation Movement—was on foot in India. Mahārāshṭra and the Punjab were immensely influenced by it. In the former it gave rise to the Marhatta power, which reached its climax under the leadership of Shivaji; in the latter it established sovereignty of the Sikhs who subsequently became supreme under the sway of Ranjit

1. Ibid., 243.

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Singh".[1] Thus the Bhakti Movement, according to Mr. Jaffar, aimed at the recovery of 'the lost sheep'. But the Bhakti school represented by three national poets and saints viz., Agrdāsa, his disciple Nabhādāsa and Priyādasa, upheld it as a revolutionary movement—revolution against the Turkish imperialism, as well as narrow outlook based on caste, creed and colour. It represents as true national culture of this country comprising diverse castes and creeds:

भारतेषु स्त्रिया: पुंसो नाना वर्णा: प्रकीर्त्तता: ।
नानादेवार्चने युक्ता नाना कर्माणि कुर्वते ॥
Kūrma P., XLVII. 19

And all of them should enjoy the country without any trouble:

स्वस्था: प्रजा निरातङ्का: सर्व दु:ख विवर्जिता: ।
रमन्ते विविधैर्भावै: सर्वाश्चस्थिरयोवना: ॥
Kūrma P., XLVII. 44

Love of the country alone inspires such outbursts of patriotic exclamations:

हा अम्ब, हा तात, हा स्वदेश रमणीयम्

This 'Svadeśa-ramanīyam' inspires its prajā (children) to adhere to deśa-dharma. Let us not forget—

यत्र योगेश्वर: कृष्ण: यत्र पार्थ धनुर्धर: ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूर्ति ध्रुवा नीर्तिर्मतिमम ॥
Gītā, XVIII. 78.

1. Jaffar, S. M., The Mughal Empire, pp. 5-6.

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## Chapter IX

## NATIONAL UNITY

Indian history is the story of disintegration and integration, action and reaction. The collapse of Hindu power and various reverses, it suffered in the different ages were due to the forces of disruption and disintegration (Vighaṭana).[1] In the early Medieval India, the alien invasions and internecine warfare led to an era of crisis every where.[2] The advent of the Turushkas (avatāraṁ Turushkāṇāṁ)[3] and the fear of alien rule (parāyatta bhaya), which causes pain even in the minds of animals,[4] did not give respite to the defenders of the country and fortunate were those kings, who could sleep with ease and comfort in the night.[5] Here we are reminded of Skanda Gupta, who is stated to have spent the three yāmas of night by sleeping on the bare ground in order to defend the country against the invasions of the Hūṇas.[6] Due to the invasions of these people of thievish nature, the entire country was highly afflicted (rāshṭraṁ kashṭāṁ daśāmagāt).[7] Hence the political thinkers of medieval India came forward with their political weapons saturated with the philosphy of the Gītā.

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1. Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 28.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. I. 556 :

   देशेषूद्भूत दुष्काल बलाबलविपर्ययात् ।
   अन्योन्यनृपयुद्धेन विघ्नादेव पदे पदे ।।

3. Ibid., VII. 70.
4. Ibid., VII. 72 :

   परायत्त भयाच्चित्तं पशोरप्युपतप्यते ।

5. Ibid., II. 43 :

   धन्यास्ते पृथिवीपालाः सुखं ये निशि शेरते ।
   पौरान् पुत्रानिवपुरः सर्वतो वीक्ष्यनिर्वृतान् ।।

6. Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skand Gupta, l. 10 :—

   क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा

7. Rājataraṅgiṇī., VII. 2758.

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They discussed and analysed the factors and forces of the failure of the Hindu arms and the rapid advance of the Muslim armies in the interior of the country. They began to diagnose the body politic, like the national physicians.[1] They preached the love of country,[2] which was to be rescued from the surging waters of Turkish invasions; because it was Ārya-deśa,[3] and Deva-bhūmi[4] which was extensive and excellent. Hence the country of the Himālayas inhabited by the heroic people taught us to keep our head erect with honour befitting this great country :

शूरास्पृष्टपृष्ठश्च यो मध्ये कुलभूभृताम् ।
अभिमानोन्नतः सत्यं गीयते भुवन त्रये ॥

Kathāsarita sāgara, XC. 4.

We have it in our popular form :

जिसको न निज गौरव तथा निज देश का अभिमान है ।
वह नर नहीं नर पशु निरा है और मृतक समान है ॥

Thus partriotism (svadeśaika ratiḥ)[5] grew to be a living faith inspiring the saints, sages and 'śūras' (heroes) to lay their lives for the protection of the country and culture. The thinkers tried to reorientate and rejuvenate our entire national life, but they employed the language and symbolic concepts of the national poets who described our collapse

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī, VII. 2923 :

गदं वैद्य इवापाकं तमवज्ञाय पार्थिवः
.....रिपून् पातयितुं परान् ॥

2. Kathā Sarita Sāgara, III. 189.
3. Ibid., CVI. 20.
4. Ibid , LXVI. 72.
5. Ibid., LXVII. 99 :

स्वदेशं प्रति सोत्सुकः

Ibid., LXXVIII. 68 ;

स्वदेश राग

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(deśabhaṅga) through Yamaka.[1] The Mātaṅgas had occupied the Uttarāpatha and everywhere – in the streets, roads, villages and forests – these wild and wicked elephants had become dominant.[2] But we were still engaged in our mutual conflicts (baṅdhu-kalaha).[3] Hence national solidarity based on patriotism as well as political, religious and social unity was preached by the sages so that concerted efforts could be made to resist the tide of the world conquerors. Nārda is made to assert that the hostilities must be shunned:

नारद: शक्र वचसा सत्यावाप्त समेत्कृति: ।
उवाच सर्वे शृण्वन्तु भवन्त: शक्रभाषितम् ।।

Bṛihat kathā mañjarī, II. 6. 109.

वैरं यदभवत्पूर्वं भवद्भि: सह नश्चिरम् ।
शान्तं तदधुना मन्ये धर्म्यमासाद्य तत्परम् ।।

Ibid., II. 6. 110.

For, it was the need of the hour:

वैरिणो मित्रतां यान्ति मित्राण्यायान्ति शत्रुताम् ।
कालस्य परिणामेन सर्वं हि परिवर्तते ।।

Ibid., II. 6. 111.

Thus unity (aikātmyaṁ)[4] was the exigency of the epoch.

There are numerous stories which aimed to inspire the sense of unity and concerted action in the minds and hearts of the Indian people. In the famous book of popular stories called Pañchataṅtra we have a story of 'Bhāruṇḍa Birds'. It runs thus:

"By a certain lake in the world lived birds called 'bhāruṇḍa birds'. They had one belly and two necks apiece."

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1. Yaśastilaka, II Āśvāsa, p. 203:
   दोषचिन्ताभिषग्वचनेषु भंगनिशमनं यमक वाक्येषु ।।
2. Ibid., II Āśvasa, p. 203.
   Rājataraṅgiṇī, VIII. 294:
   तुरुष्क लोकेनाक्रान्तान्देशान्.....
   कृत्स्ना म्लेच्छावृतेव भू:
3. Yaśastilaka, II Āśvāsa, pp. 215-216.
4. Daśa Kumāra Charita, p. 284 (N. S. Edn).

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"While one of these birds was sauntering about, his first neck found some nectar. Then the second said : Give me half'. And when the first refused, the second neck angrily picked up poison some where and ate it. As they had one belly, they died."

"And that is why I say : Bhāruṇḍa birds will teach you why.....and the rest of it. Thus union is strength".[1]

The above story was told to inspire the united action by the doves who had been trapped in the snare by hunter. The story goes :

"In the southern country is a city called Maiden's delight. Not far away was a lofty banyan tree with mighty trunk and branches, which gave refuge to all creatures..... .....In the tree lived a crow named Swift. One morning he started towards the city in search of food. But he saw a hunter who lived in the neighbourhood and who was already near the tree, approaching to trap birds. He was hideous in person, flat of hand and foot, bare to the calf of the leg, dreadfully ugly of complexion, had blood shot eyes, was accompanied by dogs, wore his hair in a knot, carried snare and club in his hand—why spin it out? He seems a second god of destruction, noose in hand, the incarnation of evil, the heart of unrighteousness, the teacher of every sin, the bosom friend of death."

"When Swift saw him, he was disturbed in spirit and reflected : "What does he mean to do, the sinner ? To hurt me ? Or has he some other purpose ?" And he clung to the hunter's heels, being filled with curiosity."

"Now the hunter picked a spot, spread a snare, scattered grain, and hid not far away. But the birds who lived there were held in check by Swift's counsel, regarded the rice-grains as deadly poison and did not peep."

"At this juncture a dove-king named Gay-neck, with hundreds of dove retainers, was wandering in search of food, and spied the rice-grains from a far. In spite of dis-

1. Pañchatantra (Eng. Trans. Arthur W. Ryder), p. 185.

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"suasion from Swift, he greedily sought to eat them and alighted in the great snare. The moment he did so, he and his retainers were caught in the meshes. Nor should he be blamed. It happened through hostile fate. As the saying goes :

How did Rāvaṇa fail to feel
That 'tis wrong, a wife to steal ?
How did Rāma fail to see
Golden deer could never be
How did Yudhishṭhira fail to know
Gambling brings a train of woe ?
Clutching evil dims the sense,
Darkening the intelligence.

And again :

When once the mind is gripped by fate,
The judgement even of great,
In mortal meshes fettered, wends
To unintended, crooked ends.

"So the hunter gleefully lifted his club and ran forward. Then Gay-Neck and his retainers, seeing him advancing, were distressed by their disastrous position in the snare. But the king, with much presence of mind, said to the doves : "Have no fear, my friends. For—

Provided judgement does not fail,
Whatever the distress,
Men reach the farther shore of woe,
And rest in happiness.

We must all agree in purpose, must fly up in unision, and carry the snare away. This is not possible without united action. For death befalls those of disunited purpose. As the saying goes :

Bhāruṇḍa birds will teach you why
The disunited surely die :
For, single-bellied, double necked,
They took a diet incorrect."[1]

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1. Pañchataṅtra—Translated by Arthur W. Ryder (Jaico Edn.) Book II, pp. 183-190.

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As stated above the Bhāruṇḍas taught that "union is strength."

"When the doves heard this, being eager to live, they united their efforts to carry the snare away, flew just an arrow shot into the air, formed a canopy in the sky, and proceeded without fear." The hunter stood askane thinking "this is unprecedented."

The Gay-Neck got the snares cut through the assistance of his friend mouse. There is wisdom in the saying :

> Because a man can gain his ends,
> Though difficult, with aid of friends,
> Get friends, and feel those friends to be,

Integral with prosperity".[1] "Pañchataṅtra is Nīti-śāstra or textbook of nīti. The word nīti means roughly the wise conduct of life".[2] Thus these animal actors of the stories assert that "unity is strength".

Similarly Śānti Parva section of the Mahābhārata (Chap. CXXXVIII) refers to a story of the discourse between a cat and a mouse at the foot of a banian", which aimed to sharpen the intelligence of a king surrounded by enemies. Bhīshma told Yudhishṭhira :

"There was a large banian in the midst of an extensive forest. Covered with many kinds of creepers, it was the resort of diverse kinds of birds. It had a large trunk from which numerous branches extended in all directions. Delightful to look at, the shade, it afforded, was very refreshing. It stood in the midst of the forest, and animal of diverse species lived on it. A mouse of great wisdom, named Palita, lived at the foot of that tree, having made a hole there with a hundred outlets. On the branches of the tree there lived a cat, of the name of Lomaśa, in great happiness, daily devouring a large number of birds. Sometime after, a Chāṇḍāla came into the forest and built a hut for himself. Every evening after sunset he spread his "

1. Pañchataṅtra, p. 190.
2. Ibid., Introduction, p. 4.

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" traps. Indeed, spreading his nets made of leathern string he went back to his hut, and happily passing the night in sleep, returned to the spot at the dawn of day. Diverse kinds of animals fell into his traps every night. And it so happened that one day the cat, in a moment of heedlessness, was caught in the snare. O, Thou of great wisdom, when his foe, the cat, who was at all times an enemy of the mouse species was thus caught in the net, the mouse Palita came out of his hole and began to rove about fearlessly. While trustfully roving through the forest in search of food, the mouse after a little while saw the meat (that the Chāṇḍāla had spread there as lure). Getting upon the trap, the little animal began to eat the flesh. Laughing mentally, he even got upon his enemy entangled helplessly in the net. Intent on eating the flesh, he did mark his own danger, for as he suddenly cast his eyes, he saw a terrible foe of his, arrived at the spot. That foe was none else than a restless mongoose of coppery eyes, of the name of Hārīta. Living in underground holes, its body resembled the flower of a reed. Allured to that spot by the scent of the mouse, the animal came there with great speed for devouring his prey. And he stood on his haunches, with head upraised, licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue. The mouse beheld at the same time another foe living in the holes of trees, then sitting on the branch of the banian. It was a night-wandering owl of the name of Chandraka of sharp beaks. Having become an object of sight with both the mongoose and the owl, mouse, in great alarm, began to think this strain. At such a season of great danger, when death itself is staring me in the face, when there is fear on every side, how should one act that wishes for one's good. Encompassed on all sides by danger, seeing fear in every direction, the mouse, filled with alarm for his safety, made a high resolution. Warding off even innumerable dangers by hundreds of means, one should always save one's life. Danger, at the present moment, encompasses me on every side! If I were to descend from this trap on the ground, without adequate precautions, the mongoose will surely "

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"seize and devour me. If I remain on this trap, the owl will surely seize me. If, again, that cat succeeds in disentangling himself from the net, he also is certain to devour me! It is not proper, however, that a person of our intelligence should lose his wits. I shall, therefore, strive my best to save my life, aided by proper means and intelligence. A person possessed of intelligence and wisdom and conversant with the science of policy never sinks, however great and terrible the danger, that threatens him. At present, however, I do not behold any other refuge than this cat. He is an enemy. But he is in distress. The service that I can do him is very great. Sought to be made a prey by three foes, how should I now act for saving my life? I should now seek the protection of one of these foes, viz., the cat. Taking the aid of the science of policy, let me counsel the cat for his good, so that I may, with my intelligence, escape from all the three. The cat is my great foe, but the distress into which he has fallen is very great. Let me try whether I can succeed in making this foolish creature understand his own interests. Having fallen into such distress, he may make peace with me. A person when afflicted by a stronger one should make peace with even an enemy. Professors of the science of policy say that even this should be the conduct of the one who having fallen into distress seeks the safety of his life. It is better to have a learned person for an enemy than a fool for a friend. As regards myself, my life now rests entirely in the hands of my enemy, the cat. I shall now address the cat on the subject of his own liberation. Perhaps, at this moment, it would not be wrong to take the cat for an intelligent and learned foe! Even thus did that mouse, surrounded by foes, pursue his reflections. Having reflected in this strain, the mouse, conversant with the science of profit and well acquainted with occasions when war should be declared and peace made, gently addressed the cat, saying,—I address thee to live! I desire the good of us both! O amiable one, thou hast no cause for fear. Thou shalt live in happiness! I shall rescue thee, if, indeed, thou dost not slay me!"

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"There is an excellent expedient in this case, which suggests itself to me, and by which you may obtain your escape and I may obtain great benefit. By reflecting earnestly I have hit upon that expedient for thy sake and for my sake, for it will benefit both of us. There are the mongoose, and the owl, both waiting with evil intent. Only so long, O cat, as they do not attack me, is my life safe! There that wretched owl with restless "glances and horrid cries is eyeing me from the branch of that tree! I am exceedingly frightened by it. Friendship, as regards the good, is seven paced. Possessed of wisdom as thou art, my friend. I shall act towards thee as a friend. Thou needst have no fear now. Without my help, O cat, thou wilt not succeed in tearing the net. I, however, shall cut the net for serving thee, if thou abstain killing me! Thou hast lived on this tree and I have lived at its foot. Both of us have dwelt here for many long years. All this is known to thee He upon whom no body places his trust, and he who never trusts an other, are never applauded by the wise. Both of them are unhappy. For this reason, let our love for each other increase, and let there be union amongst us both. Men of wisdom never applaud the endeavour to do an act when its opportunity has passed away. Know that this is the proper time for such an understanding amongst us. I wish that thou shouldst live, and thou also wishest that I should live. A man crosses a deep and large river by a piece of wood. It is seen that the man takes the piece of wood to the other side, and the piece of wood also takes the man to the other side. Like this, our compact, also will bring happiness to both of us. I will rescue thee, and thou also wilt rescue me! Having said these words that were beneficial to both of them, that were fraught with reason and on that account highly acceptable, the mouse Palita waited in expectation of an answer."

"Hearing these well-chosen words, fraught with reason and highly acceptable, that the mouse said, the mouse's foe, possessed of judgement and fore-thought, the cat said these words in reply. Endued with great intelligence, and"

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"possessed of eloquence, the cat, reflecting upon his own state, praised the words of the speaker and honoured him by gentle words in return. Possessed of sharp foreteeth and having eyes that resembled the stones called lapis lazuli the cat, called Lomaśa, gently eyeing that mouse, answered as follows—"I am delighted with thee, O amiable one ! Blessed be thou that wishest me to live ! Do that without hesitation, which thou thinkest to be of beneficial consequences ! I am certainly in great distress. Thou art, if possible, in greater distress still ! Let there be a compact between us without delay ! I will do that which is opportune and necessary for the accomplishment of our business, O puissant one ! If thou rescuest me, thy service will go for nothing. I place myself in thy hands ! I am devoted to thee ! I shall wait upon and serve thee like a disciple ! I seek thy protection and shall always obey thy behests !—Thus addressed, the mouse Palita, addressing in return the cat who was completely under his control, said these words of grave import and high wisdom:—'thou that spoken most magnanimously. It could scarcely be unexpected from one like thee ! Listen to me as I disclose the expedient I have hit upon for benefiting both of us. I will crouch myself beneath thy body. I am exceedingly frightened at mongoose ! Do you save me ! Kill me not ! I am competent to rescue thee ! Protect me also from the owl, for that wretch, too, wishes to seize me for his prey, I shall cut the noose that entangles thee. I swear by truth, O friend, Hearing these judicious words fraught with reason, Lomaśa, filled with delight, cast his eyes upon Palita, and applauded with exclamations of welcome. Having applauded Palita, the cat, disposed to friendliness, reflected for a moment, and gladly said without losing any time, "come quickly to me ! Blessed be though, thou art, indeed a friend dear to me as life ! O thou of great wisdom, through thy grace I have almost got back my life ! Whatever it is in my power to do for thee now, tell me and I shall do it. Let there be peace between us, O friend ! Liberated from this danger, I shall, with all my"

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"friends and relatives, do all that may be agreeable and beneficial to thee. O amiable one, freed from this distress, I shall certainly seek to gladen thee, and worship and honour thee on every occasion in return for thy services. A person by doing even abundant services in return never becomes equal to the person that did him good in the first instance. The former does those services for the sake of services, received. The latter, however, should be held to have acted without any such motive." "Bhīshma continued,—"The mouse, having thus made the cat understand his own interests, trustfully crouched beneath his enemy's body. Possessed of learning, and thus assured by the cat, the mouse trustfully laid himself thus under the breast of the cat, as if, it were the lap of his father or mother. Beholding him thus ensconced within the body of the cat, the mongoose and the owl both became hopeless of seizing their prey. Indeed seeing, that close intimacy between the mouse and the cat, both Hārīta and Chandraka became alarmed and filled with wonder. Both of them had strength and intelligence. Clever in seizing their prey, though near, mongoose and the owl felt themselves unable to wean the mouse and the cat from that compact. Indeed, beholding the cat and the mouse make that convenant for accomplishing their mutal ends, the mongoose and the owl both left that spot and went away to thetr respective abodes. After this, the mouse Palita, conversant with the requirements of time and space, began, as he lay under the body of the cat, to cut the strings of the noose slowly, waiting for the proper time to finish his work. Distressed by the strings that entangled him, the cat became impatient upon seeing the mouse slowly cutting away the noose. Beholding the mouse employed so slowly in the work, the cat wishing to expedite him in the task, said:—"How is it, O amiable one, that thou dost not proceed with haste in thy work? Dust thou disregard me now, having thyself succeeded in thy object? O slayer of foes, do thou cut these strings quickly! The hunter will soon come here!—Thus addressed by the cat who had become impatient, the mouse possessed of intelli-"

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"gence said these beneficial words fraught with his own good unto the cat who did not seem to possess much wisdom:—"Wait in silence, O amiable one ! Expedition is not necessary ! Drive all thy fears ! We know the requirements of time. We are not wasting time ! When an act is begun at an improper time, it never becomes profitable when accomplished. That act, on the other hand, which is begun at the proper time, always produces splendid fruits. If thou be freed at an improper time, I shall have to stand in great fear of thee ! Therefore, do thou wait for the proper time. Do not be impatient, O friend ! When I shall cut the strings at that moment of fear to both of us ! Freed then, thou will ascend the tree. At that time thou will not think of anything else save the safety of thy life. And when thou, O Lomaśa will fly away in fear, I shall enter my hole and thou will get upon the tree."—Thus addressed by the mouse in words that were beneficial to him, the cat, possessed of intelligence and eloquence, and impatient of saving his life, replied unto the mouse in the following words. "Indeed, the cat, who had quickly and properly done his own part of the covenant, addressing the mouse who was not expeditious in discharging his part, said,—"I rescued thee from a great danger with considerable promptness. Alas honest persons never do the business of their friends in this way. Filled with delight while doing it, they do it otherwise ! Thou shoudst do what is for my good with great expedition. O thou of great wisdom, do thou exert a little so that good may be done to both of us ! If, on the other hand, remembering our former hostility thou art only suffering the time to slip away, know, O wicked wight, that the consequence of this act of thine will surely be to lessen the duration of thy own life ! If I have ever before this, unconsciously done thee any wrong, thou shouldst not bear it in remembrance. I beg thy forgiveness. Be gratified with me !" After the cat had said these words, the mouse, possessed of intelligence and wisdom and knowledge of the scriptures, said these excellent words unto him:—"I have, O cat, heard what thou has said in furtherance of"

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"thy own subject. Listen, however, to me as I tell thee what is consistent with my own subjects ! That friendship in which there is fear and which cannot be kept up without fear should be maintained with great caution like the hand (of the snake-charmer) from the snake's fangs ! The person that does not protect himself after having a covenant with a stronger individual, finds that covenant to be productive of injury instead of benefit. No body is no body's friend; no body is no body's well-wisher; persons become friends or foes only from motive of interest. Interest enlists interest even as a tame elephants catch wild individuals of their species. After, again, an act has been accomplished, the doer is scarcely regarded. For this reason, all acts should be so done that something may remain to be done. When I shall set thee free, thou wilt, afflicted by the fear of the hunter, fly away for thy life without ever thinking of seizing me. Behold, all the strings of this net have been cut by me. Only one remains to be cut ! I will cut that also with haste. Be comforted, O Lomaśa !—While the mouse and the cat were thus talking with each other, both in serious danger, the night gradually wore away. A great fear, however, penetrated the heart of the cat. When at last morning came, the Chāṇḍāla, whose name was Parīgha appeared on the scene. His visage was frightful. His hair was black and twany. His hips were very large and his aspect was very fierce. Of a large mouth that extended from ear to ear, and exceedingly filthy, his ears were very long. Armed with weapons and accompanied by a pack of dogs, the grim-looking man appeared on the scene. Beholding the individual who resembled a messenger of Yama, the cat became filled with fear. Penetrated with fright, he addressed Palita and said,—"What shall thou do now" ?—The mouse very quickly cut the remaining string that held fast the cat. Freed from the noose, the cat ran with speed and got upon the banian. Palita also, freed from that situation of danger and from the presence of a terrible foe, quickly fled and entered his hole. Lomaśa meanwhile had climbed the high tree, The hunter, seeing every thing, took"

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"up his net. His hopes frustrated, he also quickly left that spot. Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, the Chāṇḍāla returned to his abode. Like rated from that great peril, and having obtained back his life which is so very valuable, the cat from the branches of that free addressed the mouse Palita then staying within the hole and said,—"Without having conversed with me, thou hast suddenly run away. I hope thou dost not suspect me of any evil intent ? I am certainly grateful and thou hast done me a great service. Having inspired me with trustfulness and having given my life why dost thou not approach me at a time when friends should enjoy the sweetness of friendship ? Having made friends he that forgets them afterwards, is regarded a wicked person and never succeeds in obtainining friends at times of danger and need. I have been, O friend, honoured and served by thee to the best of thy power. It behoveth thee to enjoy the company of my poor self who has become thy friend. Like disciples worshipping their preceptor, all the friends I have, all my relatives and kinsmen, will honour and worship thee ! I myself too shall worship thee with all thy friends and kinsmen. What grateful person is there who will not worship the giver of his life? Be thou the lord of both my body and home ! Be thou the disposer of all my wealth and possessions ! Be thou my honoured counseller and do thou rule me like a father ! I swear by my life that thou hast no fear from us. In intelligence thou art Uśanasa himself. By the power of the strength of policy, thou hast given us our life !" Addressed in such soothing words by the cat, the mouse conversant with all that is productive of the highest good, replied in these sweet words that were beneficient to himself :—"I have heard, O Lomaśa, all that thou hast said. Listen now as I say what appears to me. Friends should be well examined. Foes also should be well studied. In this world, a task like this is regarded by even the learned as a difficult one depending upon acute intelligence. Friends assume the guise of foes, and foes assume the guise of friends. When compacts of friendship are formed, it is"

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"difficult for the parties to understand whether the other parties are really moved by the lust and wrath. There is no such thing in existence as friend. It is force of circumstances that creates friends and foes He who regards his own interests ensured as long as another person lives and thinks them undangered when that other person will cease to live, takes that other person for a friend and considers him so as long as those interests of his are not clashed against. There is no condition that deserves permanently the name either of friendship or hostility. Both friends and foes arise from considerations of interest and gain. Friendship becomes changed into enemity in the course of time. A foe also becomes a friend. Self-interest is very powerful. He who reposes blind trust on friends and always behaves with mistrust towards foes without paying regard to considerations of policy, finds his life to be unsafe. He who, disregarding all considerations of policy, sets his heart upon an affectionate union with either friends or foes, comes to be regarded as a person whose understanding has been unhinged. One should not repose trust upon a person undeserving of trust, nor should one trust too much a person deserving of trust. The danger that arises from blind reposing of confidence is such that it cuts the very roots (of the person that reposes confidence). The father, the mother, the son, the maternal uncle, the sister's son, other relatives and kinsmen, are all guided by considerations of interest and profits. Father and mother may be seen to discard the dear son, if fallen people take care of their ownselves. Behold the efficacy of self-interest ! O thou that art possessed of great wisdom, his escape is very difficult who immediately after he is freed from danger seeks the means of his enemy's happiness ! Thou camest down from the tree-top to this very spot. Thou couldst not, from levity of understanding ascertain that a net had been spread here. A person possessed of levity of understanding, fails to protect his own self. How can he protect others ? Such a person, without doubt, ruins all his acts. Thou tellest me in"

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"sweet words that I am very dear to thee! Hear me, however, O friend, the reasons that exist on my side. One becomes dear from an adequate cause. One becomes a foe from an adequate cause. This whole world of creatures is moved by the desires of gain (in some form or other). One never becomes dear to another (without cause). The friendship between two uterine brothers, the love between husband and wife depends upon interest. I do not know any kind of affection between any persons that does not rest upon some motive of self interest. If, as is sometimes seen uterine brothers or husband and wife having quarrelled reunite together from a natural affection, such a thing is not to be seen in persons unconnected with one another. One becomes dear for one's liberality. An other becomes dear for his sweet words. A third becomes so in consequence for his religious acts. Generally, a person becomes dear for the purpose, he serves. The affection between us arose from a sufficient cause. That cause exists no longer. On the other hand from adequate reason, that affection between us has come to an end. What is that reason, I ask, for which I have become so dear to thee, besides thy desire of making me the prey? Thou shouldst know that I am not forgetful of this. Time spoils the reasons. Thou seekest thy own interests. Others, however, possessed of wisdom, understand their own interests. The world rests upon the example of the wise. Thou shouldst not address such words to a person possessed of learning and competent to understand his own interests. Thou art powerful. The reason of this affection that thou showest for me now is ill-timed. Guided, however, by my own interests, I myself am firm in peace and war that are themselves very stable. The circumstances under which peace is to be made or war declared are changed as quickly as the clouds change their form. This very day thou wert foe. This very day, again, thou wert my friends. This very day thou hast once more become my enemy. Behold the levity of the considerations that move living creatures. There was friendship between us as long as there was reason for its existence. That"

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"reason, dependent upon time, has passed away. The old state of enemity that is natural has come back. Thoroughly conversant as I am with the dictates of policy that have been thus laid down, tell me, why shall I enter today, for thy sake, the net that is spread for me? Through thy power I was freed from a great danger. Through my power thou hast been freed from a similar danger. Each of us has served the other. There is no need of uniting ourselves again in friendly intercourse. O amiable one the object thou hast been accomplished. The object, I had, has also been accomplished. Thou has now no need for me except to make me your food. I am thy food. Thou art the eater. I am weak. Thou art strong. There can not be a friendly union between us when we are situated so unequally. I understand thy wisdom. Having been rescued from the net, thou applaudest me so that thou mayst succeed in easily making food of me. Thou wert entangled in the the net for the sake of food. Thou has been freed from it. Thou feelest now the pangs of hunger. Having recourse to that wisdom which arises from a study of the scriptures, thou seekest verily to eat me up today. I know thou art hungry. I know that this is thy hour for taking food. Thou art seeking for thy prey, with thy eyes directed towards me. Thou hast sons and wives. Thou seekest still friendly union with me and wishest to treat me with affection and do me services. O friend, I am incapable of acceding to this proposal. Seeing me with thee, why will not thy dear spouse and thy loving children cheerfully eat me up? I shall not, therefore, unite with thee in friendship The reason no longer exists for such a union. If, indeed, thou dost not forget my good offices, think of what will be beneficial to me and be comfortable. What person is there possessed of any wisdom that will place himself under the power of a foe that is not distinguished for righteousness, that is in pangs of hunger, and that is on the look out for a prey? Be happy then, I will presently leave thee. I am filled with alarm even If I behold thee from a distance. I shall not mingle with thee, cease in thy"

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"attempts, O Lomaśa ! If thou thinkest that I have done thee a service follow then the dictates of friendship when I may happen to rove trustfully or heedlessly. Even that will be gratitude in thee ! A residence near a person possessed of strength and powers is never applauded. Even if the danger that existed be regarded to have passed away. I should always stand in fear of one more powerful than myself. If thou dost not seek thy own interests (of the kind indicated), tell me then what is there that I should do for thee. I shall certainly give thee every thing except my life. For protecting one's ownself one should give up one's very children and kingdom and jewels and wealth. One should sacrifice one's all for protecting one's ownself. If a person lives, he can recover all the affluence that he may have to give unto foes for protecting his life. It is not desirable to give up life like one's wealth. Indeed, one's ownself should always be protected by, as I have already said, giving up one's wives and wealth. Persons who are mindful of protecting their ownselves and who do all their acts after a proper consideration and survey, never incur danger as the consequence of their acts. They that are weak always know him for a foe who is possessed of greater strength. Their understanding, firm in the truths of the scriptures, never loses its steadiness" :—

"Thus rebuked soundly by the mouse Palita, the cat, blushing with shame, addressed the mouse and said the following words" :

"Lomaśa said,—Truly I swear by thee that to injure a friend is in my estimation very censurable. I know thy wisdom. I know also that thou art devoted to my good. Guided by the science of profit, thou said that there is cause for a breach between thee and me. It doth not behove thee, however, good friend, to take me for what I am not ! I cherish a great friendship for thee in consequence of my having granted me my life. I am, again, acquainted with duties. I am an appreciater of other people's merits. I am very grateful for services received. I am devoted to the service of friends. I am, again, especially devoted to"

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"thee. For these reasons, O good friend, it behoveth thee to reunite thyself with me. If I am commanded by thee, I can, with all my kinsmen and relatives lay down my very life. They that are possessed of learning and wisdom see ample reason for placing their trust in persons of such mental disposition as ourselves. O thou that art acquainted with the truths of morality, it behoveth thee not to cherish any suspicion in respect of me! Thus addressed by the cat, the mouse reflecting a little, said these words of grave import to unto the former":

"Thou art exceedingly good! I have heard all that thou hast said and am glad to hear thee, by such eulogiums or by gifts of great wealth, to induce me to unite with thee again. I tell thee, O friend, that they who are possessed of wisdom never place themselves, when there is not sufficient reason, under the power of a foe. A weak person having made a compact with a stronger one when both are threatened by foes, should (when that common danger passes away) conduct himself heedfully and by considerations of policy. Having gained his object, the weaker of the two parties should not again repose confidence on the stronger. One should never trust a person who does not deserve to be trusted. Nor should one repose blind confidence upon a person deserving of trust. One should always endeavour to inspire others with confidence in himself. One should not, however, himself repose confidence in foes. For these reasons one should, under all circumstances, protect his own self. One's possessions and children and everything are so long valuable as one is alive. In brief the highest truth of all treatises on policy is mistrust. For this reason, mistrust of all persons is productive of the greatest good. However, weak people may be, if they mistrust their foes, the latter, even if strong, never succeed in getting them under power. O cat, one like myself should always guard ane's life from persons like thee. Do thou also protect thy own life from the Chāṇḍāla whose rage has been excited! While the mouse thus spake, the cat, frightened at the mention of the hunter, hastily leaving the branch of the tree, ran away with great speed. Having"

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"thus displayed his power of understanding, the mouse Palita also, conversant with the truths of scripture and possessed of wisdom, entered another hole".

"Bhîshma continued—Even thus the mouse Palita, possessed of wisdom, though weak and alone succeeded in baffling many powerful foes. One possessed of intelligence and learning should make peace with a powerful foe. The mouse and the cat owed their escape to their reliance upon each other's services. I have thus pointed out to thee the course of Kshatriya duties at length. Listen now to me in brief When two persons who were once engaged in hostilities make peace with each other, it is certain that each of them has it in his heart to over-reach the other. In such a case he that is possessed of wisdom succeeds by the power of his understanding in over-reaching the other. He, on the otherhand, who is destitute of wisdom suffers himself, in consequence of his heedlessness, to be over-reached by the wise. It is necessary, therefore, that, in fear one should seem to be fearless, and while really mistrusting others one should seem to be trustful. One, who acts with such heedfulness never trips, or tripping, is never ruined. When the time comes for it, one should make peace with an enemy, and when the time comes, one should wage war with even a friend. Even thus should one conduct himself, O king, as they have said that are conversant with the considerations of peace (and war). Knowing this, O monarch, and bearing the truths of scripture in mind, one should, with all his senses about him and without heedfulness, act like a person in fear before the cause of fear actually presents itself. One should, before the cause of fear has actually come, act like a person in fear, and make peace with foes. Such fear and heedfulness lead to keenness of understanding.—If one acts like a man in fear before the cause of fear is at hand, one is never killed with fear when that cause is actully present. From the fear, however, of a person who always acts with fearlessness, very great fear is seen to arise.—Never cherish fear—such counsel should never be given to any one. The person that cherishes fear moved"

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"by a consciousness of his weakness, always seeks the counsel of wise and experienced men. For these reasons, one should, when in fear, seem to be fearless, and when mistrusting (others) should seem to be trustful. One should not, in view of even the gravest acts, behave towards others with falsehood. "Thus have I recited to thee, O Yudhishṭhira, the old story (of the mouse and the cat). Having listened to it, do thou act duly in the midst of thy friends and kinsmen. Deriving from the story a high understanding, and learning the difference between friend and foe and the proper time for war and peace, thou wilt discover means of escape when overwhelmed with danger. Making peace, at a time of common danger, with one that is powerful, thou shouldst act with proper consideration in the matter of uniting thyself with the foe (when the common danger has passed away). Indeed, having gained thy object, thou shouldst not trust the foe again. This path of policy is consistent with the aggregate of three (viz., Virtue, Profit and Pleasure), O King! Guided by this śruti, do thou win prosperity by once more protecting thy subjects! .....With eyes directed to this history couched in the excellent words and capable of sharpening the intelligence, a king should always conduct himself in the midst of his foes".[1]

द्वयोरिमं भारत संधि विग्रहं सुभाषितं बुद्धि विशेष कारकम् ।
यथा त्वेक्ष्य क्षितिपेन सर्वदा निषेवितव्यं नृप शत्रुमण्डले ।।

Śānti Parva, CXXXVIII. 221.

Such was an ideal diplomacy preached by Bhīshma through the old story of cat and mouse, which gave strength to the Kshatriya kings surrounded by the enemies. This story, which is mentioned to be an old[2] one, served in the

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1. Chapter CXXXVIII of Śānti-parva, P. C. Roy's Translation of Mahābhārata, pp. 312-324. For its text see Appendix I.
2. Ibid : CXXXVIII. 18 :

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासंपुरातनम्
मार्जारस्य च संवादं न्यग्रोधे मूषिकस्य च ।

Śānti Parva, CXXXVIII. 213 :

एवमेतन्मया प्रोक्तमितिहा संयुधिष्ठिर ।

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the Middle Ages as a great stimulus to the forces of our national integration.

India in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era was threatened by the Mlechchhas, who seemed to have engulfed the entire country, and they had to be exterminated.[1] But the hostilities and internecine war-fare appeared to be most destructive force in the country.[2] The Kāśmīrian empire, extending up to Afganistan in the west and Punjab in the south suffered most from these forces of disruption. Thus threatened by its internal weaknesses it had to bear the brunt of the Gaznavide force and fury, and in the end it had to yield. Lampāka (Lamghana region) was lost and thence the Shāhiya hold on the North West became a thing of the past. Panjāba was occupied by the Gaznavide forces. Under Mahmud of Gazna the small state of Gazna rose to an extensive empire. "Sultan Mahmud invaded India time and again and conquered a number of places. Almost the whole of Northern India felt the force of his arms..... His rule did not take root in the places he conquered and the Rājapūtas re-established their rule in Northern India, excepting a few places.....", and continued to rule for about two centuries more".[3] Thus it is apparent that the Rājapūtas did try their best to defend their country and in doing so, we know, that their confederacies were also formed, though in vain. But the country lacked neither patriotism nor national consciousness and we uphold it on the basis of our contemporary evidences.

Somadeva, the court poet of king Ananta of Kāśmīra composed Kathāsarita-Sāgara in the eleventh century A. D and the learned author claims to have based his 'Ocean of the Stories' on the old work called Bṛihatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. It contains various stories dealing with the different aspects of our national culture But the defence of the

1. Rājataraṅgiṇi. I. 107 :
म्लेच्छैः संछादिते देशे स तदुच्छित्तये नृपः ।
2. Ibid , VII. 401 :
वरं देशोपघातकम् ।
3. Jaffar, S. M., Medieval India Vol. II (Gaznavids), pp. 106—107.

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country was an imminent problem of national importance. Somadeva asserts that "Even the birds and animals protect themselves" :

तिर्यञ्चोऽपि हि रक्षन्ति स्वात्मानमिति यत्त्वया ।
उक्तो राजा तदश्रौषं योगादहमलक्षितः ॥

Kathā sarita sāgara, VI. 104

Here like Bhīshma, Yaugaṅdharāyaṇa, the astute minister, well-wersed in Maṅtra-śāstra (Skanda P., III. i. 5.73), is made to relate the same old story[1] of owl, mongoose, mouse and cat, described above, to inspire the sense of national unity in the hearts of the people in general and Kshatriya rulers in particular.

Similarly Kshemendra, an other versatile poet-politician of Kāśmīra exhorts the princes, kings, queens and ministers etc. to take recourse to intelligence if they aspired liberation from the traps laid by the alien rulers and internal enemies :

त्राणं नैसर्गिकी बुद्धिर्नृणामिति किमद्भुतम् ।
तिरश्चामपि निष्पन्ना व्यसनोच्छित्तये मतिः ॥

Bṛihat kathā mañjarī, VII. 476

Then, Kshemendra also relates the same story of cat (Mārjārākhyāyikā) to kindle the spirit of national unity.[2] Pañchataṅtra has also the same story to preach the political sagacity through these characters—viz' birds and animals. "The animal actors present, far more vividly and more urbanely than man could do, the view of life here recommended....."[3] A view which could touch and pierce human intelligence far more effectively than the human characters. Moreover these story-books tried to conceal their significance as treatises of politics and thereby these could evade the destructive fire and fury of a vandal. Somadeva asserts importance of national unity among the people and princes alike for the protection and well-being of the country :

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1. Kathā sarita sāgara; VI. 105—118.
2. Bṛihat kathāmañjarī, VII. 17. pp. 447—496.
3. Pañchataṅtra, Introduction, p. 11.

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एवं बहुभ्यः शत्रुभ्यः प्रज्ञयात्माभिरक्षितः ।
मूषकेन तिरश्चापि किं पुर्नमानुषेषुयत् ।।

Kathāsarita sāgara, VI. 130.

i. e. Thus the mouse surrounded by the enemies could protect himself against their fatal blows. The poet observes—can't then the human beings combine to liberate themselves."

It was this forceful preaching of political philosophy by the sages, seers and saints that the so called Rājapūta rulers formed unions and confederacies against their common foe. But these confederacies failed and one of the causes of their failures was the lack of trust, devotion and loyalty towards the leader of the union, as it was advocated :

क्षत्रियाश्चापि भूपालमेकं कृत्वा सुभक्तितः ।
तदादेशात् प्रभुंजति महीं धर्मेण नित्यशः ।।

स्कन्द पुराण ६ । २४ । २४

As the forces of disruption and disintegration let loose the bonds of solidarity, the sages tried to inject new blood to strengthen the ties of unity. The sense of unity and spirit of patriotism were again upheld by the sacred rite of circumambulation round the earth even in this age.[1] Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the great ruler of Kāśmīra performed this ceremony in the course of his digvijaya,[2] when he defeated the Turushkas who were settled in the Sindha and from there they were trying to extend their power towards the north. But they failed because of patriotism and political consciousness on the part of the defenders of the country. Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra and Yaśovamana[3] of Kanauj had sought in vain the help from China against the Turushkas. Both of these rulers vanquished single-handed these alien people, but in the end they themselves fell out among themselves. That was the irony of fate. Thus the devotion

1. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 132 :
क्षितिं प्रदक्षिणयतो रवेरिव महीपतेः ।
2. Ibid., IV. 132—188 etc.
3. Ibid., IV. 135—145.

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and dedication to the Mother country and determination to resist the foreign invader infused valour and will to create a Nation based on the conception of this great countary as a single geographical, political and cultural unit. On the one hand, the saints, sages and poets tried to weld the country into a single nation, but on the other hand, the personal or dynastic ambitions of the rulers actuated by selfish gains or glory disintegrated the unity due to their narrow outlook which was, further, fed by religious life and social institutions.

Hence the age of renaissance and reformation began with the advent of Kumārila and Śaṅkara. It brought about a change in the people's out look. Hindu mind remained, not only free, but it created great religious movements in this period and in the course of time it led to the 'Bhakti Krāṅti'—a movement of social, religious and political revolution and reconciliation. It was based upon the Indian humanistic tradition. The soldiers, the Yaudheyas i. e. the Jāṭs, who were strong and sturdy agriculturists, beeame the rebels resistihg the imperial tyranny. The spirit of national freedom asserted itself over the country, to regain it. It suffered the shocks and sours, but marched ahead in its struggle for the liberation. The tide was set in and it never rolled back, with faith in Him :

यच्चापि सर्व भूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन ।
न तदस्ति विना यत्स्यान्मया भूतं चराचरम् ।।

Bhagavadgītā, X. 39

"Arjuna, I am even that which is the seed of all beings. For there is no creature, animate or inanimate, which exists without me." It upheld the unity of human race—

मानुस की एक जाति

(Guru Nānaka).

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## Chapter X

# SOCIAL HARMONY

Dr. R. C. Majumdar observes that "We find the growth of a spirit of narrow exclusiveness which was destined to bring utter ruin to the Hindus. This aspect of their civilization is forcefully described by Alberuni in the following words" :—

"All the fanaticism of the Hindus is directed against those who do not belong to them, against all foreigners. They call them Mlechchhas i. e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner; and no house-hold can exist without these two elements. They are not allowed to receive any body, who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them".[1] He adds : "The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest posssible care to withhold it from men of an other caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurāsāna and Persia, they will think you to be both an

1. Majumdar, R. C., Ancient India, pp. 499-500.

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ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the persent generation".[1] Dr. Majumdar comments that "The sad picture of narrowness and bigotry, so brilliantly sketched by the shrewd and critical Arab scholar, is unerring of the degradation of the Hindu society in the 11th century A. D."[2] Alberuni's observations have been cashed by the modern scholars on their face value without assessing the changed climate of the country when Mahmud of Ghazna invaded India seventeen times destroying the shrines valued by the people.

As soon as the fire and fury of the Arab conquest was at the low ebb, the Arab government of Sindha initiated a policy of tolerance and temperate treatment towards the Hindus who made a valuable contribution in the fusion of Indo-Arab culture. They were celebrated for their scholarship in the courts of the Khalifas. But the spirit of the Ghaznavide politics is responsible for the Hindu outlook of hatred towards the Mlechchhas.

Prof Habib observes: "All men are more or less the products of their environment, and a rational criticism of Mahmud's work must begin with an examination of the spirit of his age".[3] He adds: "The age of Mahmud of Ghaznin was devoid of the higher spirit of faith; and theological discussions, which prosper most when religion is dead, diverted such zeal as existed towards a war of sects. When men find it difficult to believe in God, they try to prove Him; when they cease to love their neighbour, they attempt to convince themselves that hating him is a moral duty. The conversion of the non-Muslim was given up in favour of the more entertaining game of exterminating the 'heretic'. From east to west the Muslim world was torn by sectarian feuds and the strong arm of the persecutor was

1. Majumdar, R. C., Ancient India, p. 500.
2. Ibid., p. 500.
3. Mohammad Habib: Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, p. 62.

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called in vain to heal the troubles of a people, weltering in fanaticism but innocent of faith.....The contemporaries of Mahmud were aware of no difference between the lessons of the Shāh Nāmā and the principles of the Purāṇa.....Now while the Prophet and his companions stood for certain principles to be established at all costs and had resorted to war as a means for their promulgation, the legendary heroes of Persia only evoked in their devotees an ambition for greatness and ruthless imperialism without the sense of a moral mission,....." .....It heralded in an era of futile and purposeless wars.....Fighting was looked upon, .....as a sport and an attribute of manliness".[1]

Then came the Great Mahmud whose Indian campaigns stirred the nation which stood and stared at the miracle. "The result was defeat, disgrace, disaster. Temple after temple was plundered ; the centres of Indian civilisation were ruined ; and neither the wisdom of the Brāhman, nor the heroism of the Kshatriyas, nor the pious adoration of silent millions could prevent their idols of gold and silver from being melted into Ghaznavide coin. The Indians did not lack fighting spirit, and they had a country and a religion fully worthy of their devotion".[2] Prof. Habib asserts that "No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride.....The wanton destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed .....Now Hinduism with its intense and living faith was something quite unlike the Zorastrianism of Persia and the Christianity of Asia Minor, which had so easily succumbed before the invader; it suffered from no deep seated internal diseases and, a peculiarity of the national character of the

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1. M. G., pp. 62-65.
2. Ibid., pp. 79-80.

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Hindus, deeply seated in them and manifest to every body," was their intense satisfaction and pride in their customs".[1] The eminent historian, then refers to the observations of Alberuni and concludes that "A religion is naturally judged by the character of those who believe in it, their faults and their virtues are believed to be the effect of their creed. It was inevitable that the Hindus should consider Islam a deviation from truth when its followers deviated so deplorably from the path of rectitude and justice. A people is not conciliated by being robbed of all it holds most dear, nor will it love a faith that comes to it in the guise of plundering armies and leaves devastated fields and ruined cities..... They came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured and went away was a Persian's description of the Mongol invasions of his country ; it would not be an inappropriate summary of Mahmud's achievements in Hindustan".[2] Thus the reaction to Muslim invasions and its effects on Hindu society could not be other than what Alberuni had recorded. Indians from the remote antiquity were highly proud of their country which impressed the modern historians, travellers and geographers. But, it is true, that Hindu society on the eve of the Muslim invasions needed a radical change and the contemporary poets did not hesitate in preaching social equality. Somadeva Sūrī, presented before the nation an ideal picture of social life as lived by the Yaudheyas, the champions of national liberty.

Somadeva asserts that in this wonderful land of ours there is a prosperous country of the Yaudheyas, who were agriculturist; cattle-rearers and soldiers. They lived with love and affection, concord and cooperation devoted to their land. Lo ! they did not observe the rules of varṇāśrama dharma.[3] Their women, full of their feminine charms, could be seen in their fields or on the roads making frolics with

1. M. G., pp. 83-85.
2. Ibid., pp. 85-86.
3. Yaśastilaka, I. 45 :

दानेन वित्तानि धनेन यौवनं यशोभिरार्यूंषि गृहाणिचार्थिभिः ।
भजन्ति सांकर्यमिमानिदेहिनां न यत्र वर्णाश्रमधर्मवृत्तयः ॥

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gay glances. Theirs was an ideal way of life. They lived and fought, throughout the entire course of our history, for their freedom, from about 7th century B. C. to the 18th century A. D.[1]

The Vedas, Epics, Purāṇas and Smṛitis, all uphold the organic character of Hindu social organisation owing its origin to the diffrent limbs of the Creator. If so, the idea of high and low is totally unjustifiable. There had been a rational approach towards our society based on equality and unity. Thus there had been action and reaction among the two main streams of our culture viz., the Brāhmaṇa culture and the Śramaṇa culture; the former recognised the fourfold division of the society where as the latter did not approve of this scheme of Chāturvarṇya system. The Buddhist religion and thought asserted the efficacy of equality and unity of human race with their faith only in one caste, class or varṇa viz., mānusha-varṇa. It was a challenge to the orthodox Hindu social organisation. Divyāvadāna, a well known Saṁskrit Buddhist text, gives us an interesting account of this social revolution :

ब्रह्मा एक इति तस्मात्प्रजा अपि एक जात्या एव ।

Divyādvadāna, p. 325, 11. 6-7.

i. e. Brahmā is one, His children are also, hence, of one race or caste alone. Thus it asserts that there is, in the world, one and only one race indivisible comprising all equals :

एकैव जातिर्लोकेऽस्मिन् सामान्या न पृथग्विधा ।।

Divyāvadāna, p. 223, 1. 14.

The entire human race is one :

सर्वमिदमकेमेवेति.....

Ibid., p. 323, 1. 8.

Thus, in brief, we see that the Buddhist thought recognised only one varṇa called mānusha-varṇa or human race and in the four varṇas recognised by the Brahmanical thought there is none superior or inferior :

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1. See my Yaudheon Kā Itihāsa.

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अथो विशेषः प्रवरो हि नास्ति ।
वर्णाश्च चत्वार इतो न सन्ति ।।

Ibid., p. 324, 11. 9-10.

because they are born of One :

एकांशतो नास्ति यतो विशेषो ।
वर्णाश्च चत्वार इतो न सन्ति ।।

Ibid., p. 324, 11.

The advent of Islam in India gave an impetus to this thought so much so that the Buddhists of Siṅdha proved faithless and antinational due to their apathy and animosity towards the Brāhmaṇas of Siṅdha. Hence the Early Medieval India, was marked by an era of social crisis. Skanda Purāṇa, a monumental work reflecting the social and political life of the Hindus in this epoch, also upholds the principle of social equality and amity. The Dharma-Chiṅtakas, the selfless social thinkers of ancient India, reminded the country and its people of their social evils unknown in the Go lden Age (Kṛita Age) and the subsequent periods of Indian history.

The myths of quarrel between Viśvāmitra and Vaśishṭha as well as the destruction of the kshatriays by Paraśurāma reflect the social animosity between the two upper varṇas of Hindu society. But Skanda Purāṇa censures the act of Paraśurāma.[1] The Purāṇa upholds the principle of social harmony (samavāya)[2] under the stress of alien invasions. The division of Hindu society into mutually hostile groups was undesirable on the eve of Muslim invasions. The conduct of a section of the people due to class animosity proved costly and catastrophic on the occasion of Arab invasion of Siṅdha. Dr. Ishvari Prasada observes that "Besides these Arab troops, Muhammad bin Qāsim enlisted under his banner a large number of the discontented Jāts and Meds, who had old accounts to settle with the intolerant Hindu Government, which had inflicted great humiliations upon them. They had been forbidden to ride in saddles, wear

1. Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 69. 12.
2. Ibid., VII. ii. 1. 47.

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fine clothes..... this condemnation to the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water had embittered animosities to such an extent that they readily threw in their lot with the foreigners.[1] Dr. R. C. Majumdar also holds that 'the iniquitous system of caste' proved to be foremost among the causes of the downfall of the Hindus, during the Turkish conquest of India.[2]

Skanda Purāṇa, further, refers to the vicious effect of caste favouritism in the political life of the country:

सत्यमेतत् पुरा प्रोक्तं नीतिशास्त्रविचक्षणैः ।
यस्य वर्णस्य यो राजा स वर्णो सुखमेधते ।।

Skanda P., VI. 104. 16.

Thus we see that the Hindu society was suffering from class conflicts in this age. The heretics ridiculed the orthodox social system viz. Varṇa Vyavasthā. Hence Skanda Purāṇa argues and appeals for the unity of the Hindu society based on āṁgikī-sṛishṭi. It recognises the organic character of the Hindu social organisation. The Lord is himself made to say:

ता सर्वास्तु प्रकृतयो मम देहांश संभवाः ।।

Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 242. 18.

Vāyu Purāṇa also refers to the birth of these four varṇas from the body of the lord.[3] Skanda asserts that the division of these varṇas, born of the same body, does not hold good:

मुखबाहूरुपज्जातं चातुर्वर्ण्यमिहोदितम् ।
कल्पनेयं कृतापूर्वं न घटेत् विचारतः ।।

Skanda Purāṇa, IV. ii. 58. 124.

एकस्यां च तनौ जाता एकस्माद्यदि वा क्वचित् ।
चत्वारस्तनयास्तात्कि भिन्नवर्णत्वमाप्नुयुः ।।

Ibid., IV. ii. 58. 125.

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1. Med. India, p. 66.
2. Struggle For Empire, p. 126.
3. Vāyu P., Purvārdha, VI. 71:
   वक्राद्यस्य ब्राह्मणाः संप्रसूताः तद्वक्षस्तः क्षत्रिया: पूर्वभागैः ।
   वैश्यास्चोर्वोर्यस्य पद्भ्याञ्चशूद्राः सर्वे वर्णाः गात्रतः संप्रसूताः ।।

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Thus Skanda Purāṇa upholds the equality of human life discarding the distinctions of varṇa and avarṇa and it asserts that none can he said to be high or low :

वर्णावर्णविवेकोयं तस्मान्न प्रतिभासते ।
अतो भेदो न मन्तव्यो मानुष्ये केनचित्क्वचित् ।।
Ibid., IV. ii. 58. 126.

It upholds the equality and fraternity of human race :

मानुष्ये सति सामान्ये कोधमः कोथचोत्तमः ।।
Ibid., IV. ii. 58. 120.

This idea of the unity of human race and universal brotherhood is further explained by the analogy of the different ornaments made of gold. Here gold is the common basis of equality and bond of unity among all the ornaments despite their śuddha or hīna form.[1]

This ideal of social equality was further developed into the Bhāgavata philosophy of universal brother-hood based on His own observaations :

यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ।।
Gītā, VI. 30.

i. e. "He who sees Me in all beings and sees all beings in Me. I am never out of sight of him, nor is he ever out of sight of Me."

Vishṇu-Bhakti opened its doors for all and even Mlechchhas were admitted into its fold.[2] Thus socio-

1. Sk., I. ii. 40. 76-78.
2. Garuḍa P., CCXIX. 9.

भक्तिरष्टविधा ह्येषा यस्मिन्म्लेच्छोऽपिवर्तते ।
स विप्रेन्द्रो मुनिः श्रीमान् स याति परमांगतिम् ।।

We know well that Heliodoros was a Mahābhāgvata, who had caused a Garuḍhvaja pillar to be set np at Bhilsa (Vidiśā, M. P ) in the honour of deva-deva Vāsudeva. Rasakhāna and Rahīm were, too, great Bhagvadbhaktas.

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religious revolution in the early Medieval India stressed the cult of equality :

शूद्रं वा भगवद्भक्तं निषादं श्वपचं तथा ।
द्विज जाति समं मन्ये न याति नरकं नरः ॥

Garuḍa P., CCXXII. 49.

Hence Ṛishis asserted it preaching the philosophy of equality towards all persons :

समं पश्य

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## Chapter XI

# RELIGIOUS UNITY

नमामि तं विश्वतनुं पुराणं।

वाराह पु०, ३। १९

"The earliest documents in which we can trace the nature of Indian religion are.....the Vedic hymns, hymns of Ṛig, Sāma, and Yajur Vedas; after that the books of ritual called Brāhmaṇas; later still,.....the Upanishads. .....Now there runs through three literatures: Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, a quite wonderful evolution in religious ideas. In the Vedas man is believing in and worshipping Deity as certain external personal powers disposing of the material world and the destinies of mankind. In the Brāhmaṇas these personal gods have retired into the background. The central figure is the celebrant.....It is this work or karma at the altar which avails.....In the Upanishads we see the final evolution of manhood. The man becomes that who is worshipped..... This was to be sought inwardly, in the very man, Self, one in nature with the Highest.....The last development was not given in popular teachings, but these were taught to the flower of Indian youth, the sons of warriors and of celebrants or Brāhmaṇas.....".[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids observes: "In this new mandate there was a subsidence of the man-in-the mind, which we find in the Brāhmaṇas. Mind and body are more clearly recognised as the instruments only of the man, the Self. Thus: 'it is the Self that seizes hold of and animates this body'.....it is 'with the mind' truly that he sees.....' (Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, I. 5. 3.). And 'he', 'the self', the man is one with Deity conceived as Self (=Ātman).....thou art That".[1] The recognition of Self in every body asserted the equality and unity of the human race. "One should reverence the Self alone as dear,

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1. Mrs. Rhys Davids, Outlines of Buddhism, pp. 7-8.

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not for love of men are men dear; for love of the self are men dear. For Self is in and of the other man as well".[1]

.....

सर्वं यदयमात्मा

Bṛihadāraṇyaka, Up. II. 4.6

He is One Supreme (Viśvasyaikarūpaṁ pariveshṭāraṁ) whose knowledge brings Release (jñātvā devaṁ muchyate sarvapāśaiḥ).[2] He is Primeval and Eternal who is to be sought within their hearts by all.[3] He is Lord of lords (tamīśvarāṇām paramaṁ Maheśvaraṁ).[4] He is placed in every heart—

एको देवः सर्व भूतेषु गूढः
सर्वव्यापी सर्व भूतान्तरात्मा
कर्माध्यक्षः सर्वभूताधिवासः
साक्षी चेता केवलो निर्गुणश्च ॥

श्वेताश्वतर उप०, ६ । ११

But He is a juggler who divides Himself into many (Ekaṁ rūpaṁ bahudhā yaḥ karoti).[5]

Bhagavān, Himself, explained His māyā, warning people not to hurt and harm any body (Gītā, VII. 14-15). "Divine virtues are regarded as conducive to liberation and demoniacal properties are conducive to bondage (Daivī sampad vimokshāya nibandhāyāsurī matā).[6] In this world there are two types of men viz., divine and demoniacal (dvau bhūtasargau loke'smin daiva āsura eva cha).[7] Asuras devoted to vices and violence are born for the destruction of the world (Ugra karmāṇaḥ kshayāya jagato'hitāḥ).[8] Hence they cause terror to devas, who take refuge in Him for

1. Ibid., p. 9.
2. Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, V. 13.
3. Ibid., VI. 5.
4. Ibid., VI. 7.
5. Kaṭhopanishad II. 2.12.
   Cf. Śvetāśvatara Upa., VI. 12.
6. Gītā, XVI. 5.
7. Ibid., XVI. 6.
8. Ibid., XVI. 9.

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safety and security. He, too, disposes them off.[1] Thus arose the cult of devotion (bhakti) and love (prema), Love Divine, i. e. intense attachment to His feet. These ideas and doctrines of Hindu religion and philosophy have been the perennial currents of culture and thought watering this sacred land. Thus a mortal man is led to see One Eternal in all beings ;

सर्वं भूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।

Gītā, XVIII. 20.

Rev. C. F. Andrews asserts that Hinduism is a dynamic faith, which developed with development of history displaying extraordinary change of characteristic along with change of environment.[2] He adds : "The failure to realise this distinction between dynamic and a static religion has led to much misunderstanding of Hinduism. The mistake has sometimes been made of regarding this religion as an abstract system, and the result has been to make it unintelligible. But once regard Hinduism as a religious growth and its record becomes full of human interest. For it will then be seen to represent the varieties of religious experience in one of the most gifted families of mankind. It forms, as it were, a museum of the past, in which nearly all the records are complete. The earliest religious instincts of the aborigines are preserved side by side with the higher Āryan conceptions. There are rich evidences of piety and lofty aspiration on the one hand, and large areas of superstition and corruption on the other. Hinduism has made progress by accretion rather than revolution. The Brāhman priesthood which has formed, as it were, the central thread of its long history, has shown at all times the wisdom of adaptation....."[3]

Vedas, Epics, Purāṇas and other Śāstras assert the religious unity and tolerance. Buddha, too, laid the path of noble conduct, Ārya-mārga. Mahāvīra Svāmī advocated the philosophy of excessive detachment. Many other ascetic

1. Gītā, XVI. 19.
2. The Renaissance in India, p. 61.
3. Ibid., pp. 63-64.

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movements and sects grew in the subsequent period of Indian history. But with development of history and religion there sprang religious animosity and apathy. Hence Aśoka and Khāravela, the two great champions of Buddhism and Jainism respectively upheld the sanctity of all the religious sects. Aśoka desired that all the religious sects should prosper in his kingdom, every where, without any trouble. They should be guided by the true vision, self-control and purity of thought, though he realised well that the people entertain diverse passions and temperaments (R. E. VII). He upheld the religious concord (samavāya eva sādhu).[1] He exerted himself strenuously and conscientiously for the cause of communal concord and religious harmony.

Gupta age is prominently marked by religious synthesis, represented in its literature and art. Purāṇas assert the greatness of Vishṇu and His incarnations. Daśāvatara, the ten incarnatory forms of Vishṇu, witness in an exquisite and excellent way the philosophy of Samavāya. Buddha became object of veneration as a form of Vishṇu. Ṛishabha, the founder of Parama-haṁsa Dharma[2] became an exalted personality of the Purāṇas.

Devārchana and Devālayas (temples) illustrate best the fusion of diversities into unity (Garuḍa Purāṇa, Pūrvārdha Chaps. XLVII and XLVIII). But there are many gods and goddesses worshipped by the different classes and castes of men and women living in this country :

भारतेषु स्त्रियः पुंसो नाना वर्णाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
नानादेवार्चने युक्ता नाना कर्माणि कुर्वते ॥
Kūrma P., XLVII. 19

But these various gods and goddesses represent One, Supreme God, placed in the hearts of all the creatures. He, alone, is to be, always, kept in view and His true vision leads us to bliss :

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1. Aśoka's R. E. XII.
2. Skanda P., II. IX. 18. 26 :
मेरुदेव्यां सुतो नाभेर्भूत्वा चाहमृषभो भुवि ।
धर्मं पारमहंस्याख्यं वर्तयिष्ये सनातनम् ॥

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एको देवः सर्व भूतेषु गूढः सर्व व्यापी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा ।
तमेवैकं येऽनुपश्यन्तिधीरास्तेषांशान्तिः शाश्वतीनेतरेषाम् ।।
Kūrma P., IX., p. 495 (S.V. Press Edn.)

Vāsudeva is Supreme Brahma (Sa eva paramaṁ Brahma Vāsudevaḥ)[1], who lies on the cosmic bed of serpents. He is the One, Sole, Supreme Lord of the Universe.[2]

Gupta rulers, the Parama Bhāgavatas, were enlightened kings, who showered their patronage to all the sects. Harsha, also, maintained these traditions. Pratihāra rulers, too, followed this traditional track of religious concord. But some hostility did exist during the reign of king Āma (Nagabhat II) between Brāhmaṇas as well as Buddhists and Jaina sects.[3] Skanda refers to the narrow outlook in the domain of religious life, caused by the rise of numerous states.[4] Buddhist apathy for the Brāhmaṇa ruler of Sindha led to the foundation of alien government there. Thus religious synthesis became a national emergency and the intellectual renaissance led to the development of Vishṇu Bhakti, which combined in itself the salient features of Buddhism and Jainism. Garuḍa Purāṇa propogates the principles of Ahiṁsā (non-violence), Satya;[5] (truth), Asteya[6] (non-stealing), Brahmacharya[7] (celibacy), and Aparigraha[8] (non-acceptance of money, non-possession of wealth or property). These are cardinal points stressed by Jainism. Similarly Tṛishṇā, a fundamental basis of all the miseries according to Buddhists, is censured by Garuḍa Purāṇa (II. 2.14-15). But most interesting account of this religious synthesis is portrayed by Kṛshṇa Miśra author of Prabodha-

1. Kūrma P., XLIX. 68.
2. Ibid., XLIX. 69.
3. Skanda P., III. ii. 36. 37-64.
4. Ibid., II. ii. 47.6 :
   धर्मस्य पंथा गहनः संकीर्णो बहुशासनैः ।
   तत्त्वाधारणे नास्य क्षमः कोऽपि द्विजोत्तमः ।।
5. Garuḍa p. I. 229.14.
6. Ibid , I. 229.16.
7. Ibid., I. 229.17.
8. Ibid., I. 229.18.

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chandrodaya which refers to the synthesis of Buddhism, Brāhmaṇism and Jainism with Vishṇu-bhakti in the same way as the different rivers become identical with the sea after joining it.[1] It is the old Upanishadic doctrine of Unity :

यथेमा नद्यः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रायणः समुद्रं प्राप्यास्तं
गच्छन्ति भिद्येते तासां नामरूपे समुद्र इत्येवं प्रोच्यते ।[2]

He is one, Supreme and Omnipresent,[3] who assumes many forms and names in this world. Water is one and the same, but it, too, is seen in many forms.[4]

Thus realising the significance of religious unity, Śaṅkara advocated philosphy of Truth and the great religious reformer preached the religion of synthesis (ekatva). It was popularised by the other medieval thinkers like Rāmānuja. The great statesman, Kṛishṇa Miśra, held:—

एकमेव सदा ब्रह्म सत्यमन्यद्विकल्पितम् ।
को मोहस्तत्र कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ।।
Prabodha Chandrodaya, V. 15

It is the old Upanishadic doctrine :

यस्मिन् सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मैवाभूद् विजानतः ।
तत्र मोहः कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ।।
Iśāvāsya, Upa., 7

It is this knowledge of One, God, who is truth :

यतः सर्वाणि भूतानि प्रतिभान्ति स्थितानि च ।
यत्रैवोपशमं यान्ति तस्मै सत्यात्मने नमः ।।
Yoga V., I. 1.1.

Due to its universal character, Dharma played an important role in Hindu State and Society, influencing different spheres of life—politics, economics and education etc. In all these spheres Dharma moulded not only individual and Society, but also the entire national life of the Hindus.

Despite its different conceptions and forms, Dharma is

1. Prabodha Chandrodaya, V. 9.
2. Praśnopanishad, VI, 5.
3. Kaṭhopanishad, II, 11.12.
4. Ibid., II. 11.14.

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associated with the idea of duty and ideal of humanism, preaching—do not do what will hurt the other :

परेशां क्लेशदं कर्म न कार्यं कदाचन् ॥ स्कन्द पु०, १।१।५।२२

It is this fundamental character of Dharma, which is the support and sustenance of the world (Dharma mūlamidaṁ jagat).[1] It represents the supreme tree yielding the fruits of moksha rooted in the Vedas and that is Vishṇu :

धर्मदृढ़ बद्धमूलो वेदस्कन्धः पुराणशाखाढ्यः ।
क्रतुकुसुमो मोक्षफलः स जयति कल्पद्रुमोविष्णुः ॥

Garuḍa p., II. 1.2.

This religious tree grew up in course of time with its numerous branches—sects and systems. Mr. C. V. Vaidya quotes from the Arab traveller of the 10th Century A. D. who says, "In India there are forty-two religions. Al-Idrisi of the 11th Century A. D. gives more details. 'Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognize the existence of a creator but not of Prophets, while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones and others worship holy stones on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire and cast themselves into flames. Others adore the sun and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees; others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables and feed and consider this to be meritorious. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything".[2] Such is the account of the religious beliefs and practices which were then followed by the people of India. This is a clear picture of the religious state of the country as witnessed by contemporary Arab travellers. Mr. Vaidya's statement, that the Arabs were wrongly impressed, does not hold good. Skanda Purāṇa, which is believed by Mr. Vaidya to be a work of of the same age, clearly corroborates the prevalence of the

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1 Skanda p., II. ii. 47.7, 8.

2. H.M.H.I., Vol. II, Chap. III, page 116 (1924 edition); Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I (Alld. Edn.), p. 76 (Nuzhat-ul-Mushtak, Section X).

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different religious beliefs and practices as enumerated above by Al-Idrisi and quoted by Śrī Vaidya. The number 'forty-two' as the number of religious sects referred to by these Arab writers is also a significant one, although none of them described fully these forty-two religions. Perhaps it signifies many sects (nānā mārgasthitān lokān).[1] There were many religions undoubtedly. Some of them depended on the abhyāsa (abhyāsa bahulā dharmāḥ), others (many more) had their separate existence based on scriptures (śāstra dṛishṭā sahasraśaḥ).[2] Though there was no conflict or opposition in any of the different modes of worship enumerated above, yet it is clear that some recognised the existence of a Creator, Bhagavān Brahmā, while others worshipped Vishṇu, who preserves and protects it and Śiva who destroys it. But these three are essentially one, differently named due to their separate functions.[3] They appear as separate deities because of the three qualities of the One Infinite (Brahmā-Vishṇu-Śiva deva rajaḥ sattva tamomayāḥ).[4] That Creator is called Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā or Śiva, without any distinction—

> Sa cha Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ, Sa Brahmā, Sa Śivo nāsti bhedasteshāṁ parasparaṁ.[5]

Brahmā is one but is divided according to his functions,[6] which He has to perform.

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1. Skanda P., I.ii.45.21.
2. Ibid., III.i.16.32.
3. Ibid., VII.i.105.72.
4. Ibid., VII.ii.8.8-9.
5. Ibid., VII.ii.18.41.
6. Ibid., VII.i.105.72.
   Rv., X. 121. 1:

   हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जगतः पतिरेक आसीत् ।
   अहोरात्राणि विदधद्विश्वस्य मिषतो वशी ॥

   Ibid., X. 190:
   Bhāratīya Darśana (B. Upadhyaya) p. 56, vide Yāska:

   महाभाग्यात् देवताया एक एव आत्मा बहुधास्तूयते ।
   एकस्यात्मनोऽन्ये देवाः प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति ॥

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## Chapter XII

# PILGRIMAGE AS AN INSTITUTION OF NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The institution of pilgrimage has rightly been believed to be an important element of patriotism[1] in India. Even to-day we find lacs of people from the different parts of this vast country performing the sacred rite of circumambulation at Nimsār (Naimishāraṇya) and Miśrikha (Miśravana), (both in the Sitapur Dist. U.P.), and similarly at Ayodhyā (Fyzabad District U.P.,). If an aerial view of the mammoth crowd moving and chanting prayers in a reverential mood may be taken, you will find a circle of people, a circle of unity and a symbol of Śakti, our national strength. Here, too again, you will find thousands of Sādhūs (saints) belonging to the different religious schools and ascetic orders. All of them preach and propagate their doctrines for the attainment of liberation (moksha) both physical and spiritual. Hence Dr. R. K. Mukerji rightly observes: "Thus the institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful instrument of mass education in nationalism and patriotism. It develops in the people the geographical sense, which enables them to feel the immensity of their mother-country pulsating with a common life from end to end in its vast area. Pilgrimage has also made travelling a national habit in India inspite of its hardships in the days of premechanical transport. But its very difficulties added to its educative value in giving to travellers a deeper knowledge of the country than is possible to modern globe-trotters or flying visitors. At the same time, the severities of old world travelling were very much mitigated by the breaks of the pilgrims progress at holy halting places at short intervals such as myriads of village temples on its routes. This specifically Hindu institution of pilgrimage by

1. Dr. Mukerji, N. H. C., pp. 39-45.

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promoting this popular habit of travelling through the country greatly helped in the spread of education among the masses. Learned men joined the pilgrims and delivered discourses in the country side on religion and philosophy, and also on its local problems, which they helped to solve".[1] I venture to add that they discussed national problems, such as the one, as to how this country had been occupied by the Mlechchhas (Skanda Purāṇa, V. III. 5.14). The studies in the Epics, Purāṇas, and the classical saṁskrit literature as well as inscriptions support our contention.

Rāmāyaṇa is the perennial source of our national life. Vālmīki presented before the people an ideal character of Rāma, annihilator of the enemies;[2] he was himself pious man, who also lent support and protection to people and Dharma as well as 'svajana' and 'svadharma'. Hence he was an Ārya, devoted to the ideal of equality[3] and respect towards all the varṇas.[4] He was thus the Dharma-incarnate and the best of the heroes (Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla K., XXI. 10).

Thus he adhered to the ideals of religious and national life, which he wanted his people to follow. He was not to be subdued by the demons,[5] whose destruction was the sole mission of Rāma.[6] One of the greatest national hero of our country (Bhārateśvara), named Pṛithivīrāja III, was to the people of his own age, an incarnation of Rāma.

As such he first figures in the service of Viśvāmitra accompanying the sage to destroy the demons. This is his pilgrimage from Ayodhyā to Siddhāśrama (Buxar) in Bihar going on foot. Rāma, the future ruler of the country, sees the people with his own eyes and here the prince is

1. Glimpses of Ancient India, pp. 102-103.
2. Bāla K., I. 9-14.
   Ibid., I. 17.
   Ibid., I. 13-14.
3. Ibid., I. 17.
4. Ibid., I. 13-14.
5. Ibid., XXI. 9.
6. Ibid., XXI. 16.

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taught religion, ethics, politics and archery. Rāma is warned of the night attacks of the demons, who used to strike blow in the state of negligience and deep slumber.[1] Did not Pṛithvīrāja III suffer from and fell as a victim to these national lapses, which led to our collapse. Thus Viśvāmitra, here, appears as a national teacher, who wanted to mould an ideal hero and champion of the country and culture.[2] That night of darkness and distress caused by the inroads of Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushāṇas was turned into an enlightened age of 'Parama-Bhāgavata Mahārājadhirājas' (Gupta Emperors). Thus in the course of this journey Viśvāmitra fully equipped Rāma and Lakshamaṇa with armoury for the good of the country, cow and Brāhamaṇas:

गो ब्राह्मणहितार्थाय देशस्य च हिताय च ।
तव चैवाप्रमेयस्य वचनं कर्तुमुद्यतः ।।

Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, XXVI. 5.

Viśvānitra acquainted Rāma and Lakshamaṇa with this entire country, its needs and problems, and the other sages and seers!

नोदितो रामवाक्येन कथयामास सुव्रताः ।
तस्य देशस्य निखिलमृषिमध्ये महातपाः ।।

Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, XXXI. 24.

Thus it is evident, that these pilgrimages fostered the sense of patriotism based on the good of the country (deśasya cha hitāya)[3] the entire country (nikhilaṁ deśaṁ),[4] so vast and prosperous surrounded by many states (mahīṁ sphītāṁ rāshṭravṛitāṁ).[5] All its parts and provinces extending upto the seas[6] and even beyond it, the islands of Yava dvīpa

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1. Bāla K. XXII. 14:

न च सुप्तं प्रमत्तं वा धर्षयिष्यन्ति नैर्ऋताः ।
न बाह्वोः सदृशो वीर्ये पृथिव्यामस्तिकश्चन् ।।

2. Ibid., XXII. 15-24; Chaps. XXII to XXIV.
3. Ibid., XXVI. 5; cited above.
4. Ibid., XXXI. 24; Quoted above.
5. Ayodhyā K., XLIX. 13.
6. Ibid., LXXXII. 8.

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(Java) with its seven dependencies and Suvarṇa-dvīpa[1] etc. were marked by the sacred spots visited by the Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas, Vaṇikas and Rājaputras.

The journey of Rāma to Ceylon from Ayodhyā and the deputation of the monkeys to the distant countries and islands in the search of Sītā reflect the cultural expansion of India. They aimed to āryanise these regions, marked by such places, which owe their nomenclature to their counter parts in India e.g. Laṅkā-Malaya[2] and Trikūṭa[3] in Ceylon.

Mahābhārata contains a separate section on pilgrimage called Tīrthayātrā-Parva (a sub-section of Vana Parva, Chaps. LXXX-CLVI). It asserts the importance of national integration reminding us of the consequences of disintegration and disruption. Think of the fate of jewels when the string or the thread tying them together is broken. The same fate awaits us all when a single unit of our nation is separated from us.[4] Hence our entire country was knet into an unit, which a pilgrim was enjoined to respect and he did adore it, as a sacred duty, by going round it. This is the same as Pṛithvī-pradikshiṇā,[5] which is eulogised in this section of the Epic. The great builder of Bhāratī, Bhīshma asked the sage Pulastya as to what were the merits of the circumambulation of the country.[6]

Nārada, Dhaumya and Lomaśa etc. describe the sacred spots situated in the different parts of our country, their sanctity and other such matters connected with the Āryan way of life (Ārya dharma).[7] Hanumāna is also presented here as a great hero and teacher, who dealt with Varṇāśrama dharma.[8]

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1. Rām. Araṇya K. 40. 29-31.
   Cf. Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. III, p. 27, Wassaf tells us that Mūl Jāwā or the Isle of Jāwā was "One of the countries of Hind."
2. Ibid., Yuddha K., LXVII. 66 etc.
3. Ibid., Uttara K., XI. 22 etc.
4. Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, LXXX. 5.
5. Ibid., LXXXI. 11.
6. Ibid., LXXXII. 7.
7. Ibid., CXII. 18.
8. Ibid., CL. 29.

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He told Bhīma about the political philosophy of Bṛihaspati and Śukra. He asserted the importance of Daṇḍa nīti for checking lawlessness.[1] The duty of the kshatriyas (kshātra dharma) was the protection (rakshaṇaṁ) of the country and its people. Similarly the pilgrimages of Arjuna and Balarāma are also very interesting and instructing. These pilgrimages not only enlightened the minds of the tīrthikas, but also they paved way for national unity.

Purāṇas deal elaborately with this institution of pilgrimage. Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana and Bhāgavata Purāṇas contain good lists of tīrthas placed in all the parts of this vast country. Tīrthasaṁgraha (collection of the lists of the tīrthas) may not be discussed here for the paucity of space, but many of the tīrthas like Hiraṇyadvīpa (Sauvarṇa-dvīpa, Matsya CXCIII. 68) were also famous centres of pilgrimage in the so called region of Greater India.

Ārya Mañjuśri Mūlakalpa refers to such sacred spots as Siddhi-kshetras, placed in the different quarters, on the banks of the rivers, sea-coasts and the hills viz. Himālaya, Vindhya, Sahya, Malaya, Arbinda, Gaṅdhamādana, and Trikūṭa etc. The rivers named Bhāgīrathī, Yamunā, Siṅdhu, Narmadā, Chaṅdrabhāgā (Chenab),[2] Kāveri, and Sarasvatī are also called Siddhi-kshetras. Similary the countries viz., Kāśmīra, Chīna-deśa, Nepāla Kaviśa or Kapiśa (Kafiristana), and Mahā-chīna are also styled siddhi-kshetras.[3] It exihibits the vast geographical horizon of India in the past.

Again there is a list of such sacred spots styled Siddhi-sthānāni,[4] comprising—

Chīna
Mahā Chīna
Kaviśa, (ancient Kapiśa-Kafiristan)
Bakhala, (Balakha ?)
Uḍiyāna, (Udyān i. e. Swat valley)

1. Vana Parva., CL. 32.
2. MMK., Vol. I, p. 87.
3. Ibid., p. 88.
4. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 325.

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Kāśmīra,
Sindhu deśa, (Sind)
Himālayan border,
Himādri,
Madhya-deśa (Gangetic Doab)
Magadha (Patna-Gaya region)
Aṁga (Monghyr-Bhagalapur)
Kāmarūpa (Gauhati region, Assam)
Vaṁga, (East Bengal)
Islands near the sea-coast
Siṁhala (Ceylon)[1] etc.[2]

The islands mentioned above appear to be the same as are given below :

कर्म रंगाख्य द्वीपेषु नाडिकेसरमुद्भवे ।
द्वीपे वारुषके चैव नग्न वालि समुद्भवे ।।
यव द्वीपि वा सत्त्वेषु तदन्यद्वीप समुद्भवा ।।[3]

Vārushaka is identical with Barus placed on the western coast of Sumātrā, though Vārushaka dvīpa is a mistake for Vāruṇaka dvīpa i. e. Varuṇa or Borneo, Yava is modern Java; Nagna is Nicobar and Vāli, still, preserves its ancient name of Bāli island, where as others cannot be satisfactorily identified. 'Anya dvīpa, the other islands, probably refer to modern Indonesia. In these places people performed different rites for the attainment of religious bliss as well as spiritual and magical powers :—

ये साध्या मन्त्र मुख्याश्च उत्तमाधममध्यमा: ।
सिद्धचन्ति मन्त्रा: सर्वे वै सिद्धक्षेत्रेष्विहोदिते ।।[4]

In the collection of Manuscripts owned by the U. P. Historical Society and placed in the Lucknow University we have a manuscript comprising a list of one hundred and eight spots associated with Vishṇu. The list opens with salutations to Śrīmat Rāmānuja.[5] Hence it seems to be associated with the temple of Śri Raṁgaṁ in the South and

1. M. M. K., Vol. II, pp. 325.
2. Ibid., the list further runs-pp. 326-327.
3. Ibid., p. 332.
4. Ibid., p. 525.
5. Mss. p. I, V.I : श्रीमते रामानुजाय नम: ।

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consequently it cannot be ascribed to a date before the eleventh Century A. D.; though it seems to be taken from some Purāṅa. But the list does not refer to its source. It runs thus :

1. Śrī Vaikuṇṭha
2. Āmoda
3. Pramoda
4. Sammoda
5. Satyaloka
6. Sūrya-maṇḍala (Surat ?)
7. Kshīrābdhi
8. Śveta dvīpa (White Island of Ptolemy)
9. Badarī (Badrinath, Garhwal-Pauri)
10. Naimisha (Nimsar, Sitapur Dist. U. P.)
11. Harikshetra (Haripur, Champarana Dist. Bihar)
12. Ayodhyā (U. P.)
13. Mathurā (U. P.)
14. Māyā (near Haridwara)
15. Kāśī (Vārāṇasī)
16. Avanti (Ujjayinī)
17. Dvārāvatī (Dwārakā)
18. Vṛija (Mathura Distt., U. P.)
19. Vṛiṅdāvana ( ,, )
20. Kāliya-hṛida ( ,, )
21. Govardhana ( ,, )
22. Bhavaghna
23. Gomṁta Parvata (Goa)
24. Haridvāra (U. P.)
25. Prayāga (U. P.)
26. Gayā (Bihar)
27. Gaṅgā-sāgara (Bengal, Bay of Bengal)
28. Chitrakūṭa (Banda Distt. U. P.)
29. Nandigrāma (near Ayodhyā)
30. Prabhāsa (Saurāshṭra)
31. Kūrmāchala (Kamaun)
32. Nilādri (Orissa)
33. Siṁhāchala
34. Tulasīvana

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35. Kṛitaśaucha
36. Śvetādri (Śveta Parvata, Safed Koh or Dhaula giri)
37. Dharmapurī
38. Kākula
39. Garuḍādri
40. Hiraṇyā
41. Pāṇḍu-raṁga (Mahārashṭra,-Paṇḍharapur)
42. Veṅkaṭādri (Tirupati hill)
43. Yādavādri
44. Ghaṭikāchala
45. Vāraṇa giri
46. Kāñchī (Conjee veram.)
47. Parameśapura
48. Kāmasiki (Kāmākshi)?
49. Nanda-Vṛija
50. Kāma koḍī
51. Deva Kāñchī
52. Gṛidhra sara
53. Vīkshāraṇye
54. Totādri (South India)
55. Gajasthala
56. Bālipura (Mahābalipuraṁ, Mahāvalaṁ Valipure).
57. Bhaktisara
58. Aiṁdra
59. Gopapurī
60. Śrī mushṭi
61. Mahendra
62. Śrī-raṅga
63. Sārakshetra (it is left in our list-Sāranātha)
64. Śrī-dhāma
65. Śrī-nivāsasthala (Śrī-Parvata, South India)
66. Svarṇa-mandira
67. Vyāghrapurī
68. Ākāśa-nagara (South India)
69. Utpalāvarttaka
70. Maṇikūṭa
71. Kṛishla-kshetra (Kṛishṇa Kshetra).
72. Bhaktisthāna

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73. Śveta-hṛida
74. Agni-Purī
75. Bhārgava-sthāna
76. Vaikuṇṭha
77. Purushottama (Orissa)
78. Chakatīrtha (Chakratīrtha)
79. Kumbhakoṇa (well known city of South India)
80. Bhūtasthāna
81. Kapisthala (Kaithal, Karnal Distt. East Punjab)
82. Chitrakūṭa (Chitrakūta, Banda Distt., U. P.)
83. Khaṇḍana (Khāṇḍava)
84. Uttama
85. Śvetādri
86. Pārthasthala
87. Krishṇa Kuṭī
88. Nanda Purī
89. Vṛishapurī
90. Saṁgama-grāma
91. Śāraṇāhvaye (Sāran, Bihar).
92. Siṁha-kshetra
93. Maṇimaṇḍapa
94. Niviḍa (Nīvṛit)
95. Dhanushka (Dhanushkoṭi, South India)
96. Maudgara (Monghyr-Bihar)
97. Mathurā
98. Vṛishabhādri
99. Śrī madvara
100. Kūrukā
101. Goshṭipurī
102. Darbhasthala
103. Maṁgalaka (Manglore, S. I., famous Maṁgala, Tīrtha)
104. Bhramarasthala
105. Kuraṁga
106. Taṭasthala
107. Kshudra-nadī
108. Ananta (Anantapura, S. I.; Ananta-Śayanaṁ)

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Dr. R. K. Mukerji has also given this list of 108 places consecrated to Vishṇu. But the distinguished scholar has not mentioned the source from which this extract is quoted. Dr. Mukerji has also not given the first 3 verses in beginning and similarly we do not find 8 or 9 verses in the concluding portion of the list. The last four verses are, however, very important, as there, we find the regional classification of these sacred spots. We have :

पारे क्षीरे एकमेकं तुंडे द्वाविंशतिस्तथा ।
मध्यदेशे द्वये चैव एकचत्वार चोलके ॥
Verse 3 of the last portion.

पांड्यदेशे सप्तदश मलयालये त्रयोदश ।
उत्तरेकादशं चैव दिव्यदेशानुक्रमात् ॥
Verse 4 of the last portion.

Here as elsewhere in this list there are some omissions as well as mistakes of the scribe. But we have only to show that there were definitely some sacred spots accross the Indian Ocean (Pāre Kshīre) as there were such tīrthas in every province of Indian sub-continent. All these holy places have been visited by pilgrims from the remote antiquity. The sages and saints travel over the entire country. We are told in the Nīlamata Purāṇa that Ṛishi Kaśyapa performed his pilgrimage in the entire country called Bhārata-varsha, a land of sanctity and great bliss.

तीर्थयात्रा प्रसंगेन चचार सकलां महीम् ।
वर्षेऽस्मिन् भारते पुण्ये शुभाशुभफलप्रदे ॥
Verse 124.

He travelled on foot visiting all the tīrthas placed in the Eastern country, South, West and North, extending upto seas :

चचार पदचारेण मारीचः स्वात्मशुद्धये ॥
Verse 138 (i).

पूर्वं देशे त्वया ब्रह्मन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमे तथा ।
Verse 144.

दृष्टानि सर्वतीर्थानि यास्यामोऽद्योत्तरां दिशम् ॥
पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि ह्यासमुद्रं सरांसि च ॥
Verse 163 (ii).

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It refers to the sanctity of the continents and Islands (dvīpāh pūjyāḥ pṛithak pṛithak)[1] and among the nine divisions of Bhāratavarsha were also worshipped by the people.

हरिवर्षः किंपुरुषो वर्षो भारतसंज्ञकः ।
भारतस्य तथा भेदाः पूजनीयाश्च ये नव ॥
Nīlamata Purāṇa, Verse 711.

Thus the entire Bhāratavarsha, along with its nine divisions, was an object of veneration and devotion in the past.

These nine divisions are :

इन्द्रद्युम्नः कशेरश्च ताम्रवर्णो गभस्तिमान् ।
नाग द्वीपस्तथा सौम्य गान्धर्वो वारुणस्तथा ॥
N. P. 712.

अयं च मानवो द्वीपस्तथासागर संभृतः ॥
N. P. 713 (i)

Mānava-dvīpa (the country of Manu) represents India proper (including Pakistan, before Partition) for which mostly Kumāra or Kumārī dvīpa has been used in the Epic and the Purāṇas. The other 8 divisions correspond to Dvīpāntara i.e. Insular India. Indradvīpa has been identified with Burma or Andman ; Tāmravarṇa represents ceylon ; Nāga-dvīpa is the same as Nicobar; and Saumya is Sumātra. Gāndharva probably corresponds to Gaṅdhāra i.e. Yunnan, as Gandharva was also the name of ancient Gāṅdhāra. Vāruṇa represents modern Borneo. Such was, in the days of Yore, Bhārata-varsha, and it was not the physical Bhārata, but the embodiment of her spirit, which was then worshipped by Bhāratī saṅtati.

संप्राप्य भारते खंडे कर्मभूमिं महोदयम् ॥ स्कन्द पु०, ७ । २ । १२ । ३६
अनेकाश्चर्य संयुक्तं बहुपर्वतमंडितम् ॥ वही, ७ । २ । १२ । ३७
पदे पदे निधानानि संति तीर्थान्यनेकशः ।
येषां स्मरणमात्रेण सर्वपापक्षयो भवेत् ॥ वही, ७ । २ । १२ । ३८

Vande mātaraṃ.

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1. Nīlamata Purāṇa, Verse 708.

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## Chapter XIII

# RĀJAPŪTA POLITY

It is too narrow to think that "India had no formal political philosophy".[1] Prof. Basham holds: "From the days of Plato and Aristotle European thought has turned its attention to such questions as the origin of the state, the ideal form of government, and the basis of law, and politics has long been looked on as a branch of philosophy. India also thought on such questions, but she had no schools of political philosophy in the western sense. The problems which form the stock-in-trade of the Europeon political philosopher are answered in Indian texts, but in a take-it-or-leave-it manner, with little discussion; often indeed the only argument in favour of a position is the citation of an old legend, used much as Plato's adaptations of older myths to reinforce his theories".[2] I submit to differ with the distinguished scholar. The fault lies more with us than with the texts or the teachers of our ancient polity, which is represented by a galaxy of political thinkers.

Ṛigveda refers to the popular philosophers, Aṁgirasa, Bṛihaspati and other enlightened thinkers. The Brāhmaṇas and Upanishadas, too, refer to ancient thinkers. Buddha was himself a great political philosopher, who followed the ancient traditions of Hindu Polity.

### Political Philosophy of Buddha

The great religious preacher viz., Śākyamuni Buddha, a prince by birth, was a great political thinker who paved way for national Unity. Dealing with various punishments meted out to sinners (Aṁguttara-Nikāya,* I, pp. 46-47.), he observes.

सो दिट्ठधम्मिकस्स वज्जस्स भीतो न परेसं पाभतं विलुम्पन्तो चरति ।

इदं वुच्चति, भिक्खवे, दिट्ठधम्मिकं वज्जं । Aṁguttara, I., p. 47.

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1. Basham, A. L., Wonder India, p. 79.
2. Ibid., p. 79.

* Tripiṭaka, edited by Bhikshu J. Kashyap 1960.

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Thus he upholds Daṇḍa-gauravaṁ, which led to the foundation of kingship. He says:—

"यस्मिं, भिक्खवे, समये चोरा बलवन्तो होन्ति, राजानो तस्मिं समये दुब्बला होन्ति। तस्मिं, भिक्खवे, समये बहुनो जनस्स अनत्थाय अहिताय दुक्खाय देवमनुस्सानं।" Aṁgutara I, p. 65.

Thus he pleads for a strong and stable government for the good of the people:

"यस्मिं, भिक्खवे समये राजानो बलवन्तो होन्ति, चोरा तस्मिं समये दुब्बला होन्ति। तस्मिं भिक्खवे, समये ... ... ... ... होति बहुजन हिताय बहुजनसुखाय बहुनो जनस्स अत्थाय* हिताय सुखाय देव मनुस्सानं ति।"

Aṁguttara I, p. 65, l. 18-27.

Thus Buddha appears, in the 6th century B. C., as a great democrate, whose political philosophy aimed at the progress and prosperity of the masses (bahuno janassa, Aṁguttara I, 65/17). His idea of kingship and administration was identical with the organisation of Buddhist Church (Saṁgha), which championed the cause of bahu-jana, or demos. Hence political philosophy of Buddha was based on democratic traditions. Buddha wanted to take with him all the people to the abode of bliss here and hereafter. He professed an equilibrium between 'attha' and 'dhamma', which was imperilled by the rise of thievish people, who could be kept in check by a strong government. Tathāgata, rājā cha Chakkavttī stood for the annihilation of anarchy (arājakaṁ) and the preservation of Law:

यो पि सो भिक्खवे राजा चक्कवत्ती धम्मिको
धम्मराजा सो पि न अराजकं चक्क वत्तेति ॥

Aṁguttara I, p. 100/18-19.

He was the champion of Law and Order (dhamma). The Chakkavattī Sūtra describes the character and role of Rāja Chakkavattī Dhammiko Dhammarājā:

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* Cf., Aśoka's R.E. VI :....

सर्वत्र च जनस अथे करोमि.....कतटवमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं..... नास्ति हि कंमतरं सर्वलोक हितत्पा.....य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति-भूतानं आनंणंगछेयं।

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इध, भिक्खु, राजा चक्कवत्त धम्मिको धम्मराजा धम्मं येव निस्साय धम्मं सक्करोन्तो धम्मं गरुं करोन्तो धम्मं अपचायमानो धम्मद्ध जो धम्मकेतु धम्माधिपतेय्यो धम्मिकं रक्खावरण गुत्ति सं विदहति अन्तो जनस्मिं । ··· ···

Aṁguttara I, p. 100/26—p. 101/.1.

Thus Buddha, too, upheld the sanctity of Dhamma (Dharma) or Ṛita, which set the chakra rolling.

धम्मेनेव···चक्कं वत्तेति Aṁguttara I, p. 101/29.

He also paved way for national Unity :

अयं जम्बूदीपो इद्धो चेव भविस्सति फीतो च ।
कुक्कुट सम्पातिता गाम निगम राजधानियो ॥

Dīghanikāya, III, p. 59.

He dispelled darkness which had engrossed the world :

एवमेवं···गोतमेन अनेक परियायेन धम्मो पकासितो ।

Aṁguttara I, p. 159/28-29.

The age of Buddha was marked by the rise of Magadhan imprerialism, aud the great Magadhan minister Vassakāra was a political thinker of no mean order (Parinirvāṇa Sūtra, pp. 3-10).

**Rāmāyaṇic Thinkers**—Rāmāyaṇa, too, asserted the good of people (vṛiddhi kāmo hi lokasya)[1] to be the highest ideal of a State styled Rāma-rājya based on loka-mata (rājāno lokasammatāḥ)[2]. Kings were subservient to Dharma-baṁdha.[3] The Epic refers to Bṛihaspati[4], Vaśishṭha (Vaśishṭha rājadharmavit)[5], Hanumāna[6], Rāvaṇa[7] and Vibhīshaṇa[8], as the exponents of Rājadharma or Rājaśāstra. Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Bhārgava-nīti-Saṁhitā.[9] We find salient features of Rāma-nīti (Ayodhyā K., Chaps., C-CII),

1. Ayodhyā K., I. 35.
2. Ibid., I. 49
3. Ibid., XIV. 24
4. Ibid., I. 32, 33, 34, 39-40.
5. Ibid., LXXXI. 9
   Araṇya K., LXVI. 18
   Kishkiṁdhā C., XXXI. 12; LIV. 4
6. Ibid., LXVI. 2, 3, 47;
   Suṁdara K., XLI. 2-4.
7. Ibid., LII. 7.
8. Yuddha K., IX. 8-12, 16, 22.
9. Uttara K., XCIII. 19.

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which is also dealt with in Agni Purāṇa (Chapters CCXX-XIXCCXLII). Vāśishṭha-niti has been described in a celebrated medieval work, named Yogavaśishṭha. (II Chaps., 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 etc.).

**Bhārata-Chiṁtakas**—Mahābhārata presents the views of different political thinkers :

Vāsudeva (Vāsudeva-naya),[1] Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana,[2] Paraśu-rāma and his disciple Droṇa,[3] Kaṇika,[4] Nārada[5] Bṛihaspati,[6] Uśanā,[7] Vaśishṭha,[8] and Bhīshma, the most exalted exponent of Rājadharma. The Epic refers to Auśanasa śāstra,[9] Bārhaspatya-śāstra,[10] Kāmandaka,[11] and Maheśvara's Rājadharma.[12] It refers to Viśālāksha,[13] and his work named Vaiśālāksha[14] as well as Bāhudaṁtaka,[15] Bārhaspatyaṁ,[16] and Śukra-nīti śāstra (Kāvyaṁ).[17] These are well-known works of Hindu Polity. Kauṭilya himself refers to Viśālāksha and Bāhudaṁta[18] etc.

**Paurāṇikas**—The Purāṇas also mention the names of ancient political thinkers. Skanda P. lays stress on the role of Dharma śāstra-prayojakas,[19] like Manu, Atri, Vishṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Uśanā, Aṁgirā, Yama, Āpastamba, Saṁvartta, Kātyāyana, Bṛihaspati,[19] etc. in addition to Bhīshma[19] and Chāṇakya[20] (Kauṭilya).

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1. Ādi P., I. 131.
   Sabhā, P., XV. 13 (i).
2. Ādi P., I. 25 ; Śānti P., XXXIII. 42-45.
3. Ibid, C-XXIX . 52.
4. Ibid., C-XXXIX. 2.3.
5. Ibid., CC XI. 27.
   Śānti P., I. 10-13 ; VII. 5, 11-23 etc.
6. Ibid., XXXVII. 9, 10.
7. Ibid., XXXVII. 10.
8. Ibid., XXXVII. 11.
9. Ibid., CXXII. 11.
10. Ibid., LIX. 84.
11. Ibid., CXXIII. 11-12, 15-25.
12. Anu Śāsana P. Ch. CXLV. 11—12, 15-25.
13. Śānti P., LIX. 80.
14. Ibid., LIX. 81-81.
15. Ibid., LIX. 83.
16. Ibid., LIX. 84.
17. Ibid., LIX. 85.
18. K.A.S., p. 13 etc.
19. Skanda P., II. iv 32.2.
20. Ibid., I. ii, 40 251.

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Smṛitis are recognised for their valuable contribution in the development of ancient political thought. Nibaṁdhas, too, throw valuable light on the ancient polity.

**Medieval thinkers**—It shows the popularity of polity, which was an important branch of learning from the Vedic age to medieval times. Rājaśekhara, too, refers to Daṇḍanīti[1] or Rājasiddhāṁt[2] quoting Auśanasa,[3] Barhaspatya[4] and Kauṭilya.[5] Rājaśekhara upholds the importance of Daṇḍanīti (Daṇḍ nīti revaikā Vidyā).[6] Kṛishṇa Miśra, a Chandella minister also holds the same view recognising Daṇḍanīti,[7] alone as Vidyā (Daṇḍa nīti reva vidyā). Somadeva Sūrī refers to the following political thinkers:

गुरुशुक्रविशालाक्षपरीक्षित्पराशरभीमभीष्मभारद्वाजादिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्रश्रवणसनाथंश्रुतिपथमभजन्त ।

Yaśastilaka, III, p. 315 (Kāśi Edn.)

Daśa-kumāra-charita of Daṇḍī also refers to the following ancient political thinkers:

येऽपि मन्त्रकर्कशास्तन्त्रकर्तार: शुक्राङ्गिरसविशालाक्षबाहुदन्तिपुत्र पराशर प्रभृतयस्तै: किमरिषड्वर्ग जित: कृतं वा तै: शास्त्रानुष्ठानम् ।

द० कु च० पृ० २५९

It asserts :—

ननु चतस्रो राजविद्यास्त्रयी वार्तान्वीक्षिकी दण्डनीतिरिति । तासु..... अधीष्व तावद्दण्डनीतिम् । इदमिदानीमाचार्य विष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भि: श्लोकसहस्रै: संक्षिप्ता । द० कु० च० पृ० २५६

While discussing the importance of Daṇḍanīti, Daṇḍī asserts that it is the Kula-vidyā of the kshatriyas (Daṇḍanitiṁ kulavidyāṁ), whose intellect is sharpened only with the knowledge of Arthaśāstra.[8] King devoid of its know-

1. K. M., 4/5-6, 7, 9, 10.
2. Ibid., 35/2.
3. Ibid., 4/8.
4. Ibid., 4/9.
5. Ibid., 4/12.
6. Ibid., 4/7.
7. Prabodha Chandrodaya, p. 71.
8. D. K. Ch., p. 253.

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ledge is doomed and people suffer from misery and trouble. Hence they violate the Law and consequently lawlessness prevails. Daṇḍī also refers to Vishṇu Gupta-Chāṇakya (Kauṭilya) and Kāmandaka, as the exponents of Nīti. These are the well known Śāstrakāras of Hindu Polity. There are references to Artha-chiṁtakāḥ[1] (professors of the Arthaśāstra) as well as Arthaśāstras composed by ancient teachers[2]. Viśākhadatta also showers eulogium on Ārya-Chāṇkya-nīti[3], Auśanasa daṇḍa-nīti, studied by Vishṇuśarmā, who was an associate of Chāṇakya[4], and other authors of Arthaśāstras (Arthaśāstrakārāḥ)[5] quoted by Viśākhadatta on the three types of governments. Pṛithivīrāja Rāso also alludes to Visāla (Viśālasya rājaniti)[6] identical with Viśālāksha. It upholds the sanctity and sublimity of Veda-nīti (Aṅtima Yuddhu, 259). Pṛithivirāja Vijaya mentions Śukra (PV., II. 20), Prachetā (PV., V. 62), and Bṛihaspati (PV., XII. 35). It maintains the celebrity of Guru (Bṛihaspati) and Śukra (PV., IX., 36). Thus we have a continuous, well-knit chain of political thinkers, who observed the Indian politics and came forward with their philosophies. Was not Bhīshma a political philosopher, whose discourse on Rājadharma, Dānadharma and Mokshadharma has always been held high in esteem? We reiterate that India had her own political philosophy-unique and matchless.

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1. K. A. S., pp. XI-XII.
2. Ibid., Book I, Chapt I, p. 1 : "This Arthaśāstra is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthasastras, which.....have been composed by ancient teachers."
   Ibid., Book XV, Chap. 1, p. 427.
3. M. R., VI. 1 :
   प्रतिहतप्रतिपक्षा आर्य चाणक्य नीतिः ।
4. Ibid., after I. 15 :
   विष्णुशर्मानाम ब्राह्मणः । स चौशनस्यां दण्डनीत्यां.....परं प्रावीण्यमुपगतः ।
5. Ibid., after III. 19 :
   इह खलु अर्थशास्त्रकाराः त्रिविधां सिद्धिमुपवर्णयन्ति ।
6. P. R., Ādikathā 26.

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Philosophy in India has been a way of life instead of being a subject of dry discussion or table-talk. Philosophy grows directly out of life and its problems. It is a discipline of human mind. "We live in the midst of a situation that places imperious demands upon us. The inescapable urge of life brings us face to face with an environment that calls from us certain types of activity : to live is to be compelled to do something under definite circuinstances".[1] Philosophy, thus, grows directly out of life and its needs.

A renaissance of national life fostered by foreign invasions began with the Arab occuption of Siṅdha. It caused terror, which stirred the mind and arms of the defenders. Thus, Hindu Medieval India witnessed the development of political philosophy based on the spirit of freedom, unity, valour and political wisdom (prajñā). Gaznavide onslaughts accompanied by death and destruction stimulated the national mind to think of the ways and means to escape the annihilation :

लब्धास्वादो गजेन्द्रोयं पुनः पुनरिहैष्यति ।
निःशेषयिष्यत्यस्मांश्च तदुपायोऽत्र चिन्त्यताम् ।।

Kathā Sarita Sāgra LX. 33.

Hindu Medieval thought lays more stress on the efficacy of prajñā rather than that of parākrama (valour) :

प्रज्ञा श्रेयसे न पराक्रमः ।।

KSS., LIX. 10

It has already been shown above (Chap. IX) that mouse secured his life in the midst of enemies through the use of his prajñā :

एवं बहुभ्यः शत्रुभ्यः प्रज्ञयात्माभिरक्षितः ।
मूषकेन तिरश्चापि किं पुनर्मानुषेषु यतः ।।

KSS. XXXIII. 130

## PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

Philosophy, an important discipline of human mind, sustains people and princes alike, when their minds are enveloped in agony. When they are on the verge of collapse

1. G. Watts Cunningham, Problems of Philosophy (London) p. 4.

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due to excessive stress and strain, Philosophy extends her soothing hand of solace and sustenance. "The inescapable urge of life brings us face to face with an environment that calls from us certain types of activity : to live is to be compelled to do something under definite circumstances".[1]

The Post-Harsha period witnessed "the disastrous effects of the destructive inroads of Islam".[2]....."The Muslims were not only foreign mlechchha (unclean and boorish) conquerors, but they had deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities by indiscriminate demolition of temples and destruction of images of gods on a large scale".[3] The story of the Turkish conquest of India has not been properly written on the basis of indigenous version of the episode. Yaśastilaka of Somadeva Sūrī, Daśa-Kumāra Charita of Daṇḍī, Bṛihat Kathākośa of Harisheṇa, Kathāsarita Śāgara of Somadeva, Bṛihat Kathā mañjarī of Kshemendra, Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya of Jayānaka, Rājataraṅgiṇī (I, II, III of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Śrīvar Paṇḍita) as well as the Purāṇas like Vārāha, Vāmana, Garuḍa, Vishṇudharmotlaraṁ, Agni, Bhāgavata and Skanda, have not been evaluated for the purpose. Garuḍa and Skanda are seriously devoted to the study and analysis of the Turkish conquest of India. Similarly Yogavaśishṭha, a wellknown religio-philosophical text of early Medieval India, has escaped the notice of modern historians.

Prajñā and Vimarśa played an important role in the history of Hindu medieval thought. These were believed to be the effective ways and weapons for the attainment of liberation. Skanda asserts :

तस्माद्विमर्शः कर्तव्यः पुरुषेण विपश्चिता ।
विमर्शाज्जायते ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्मोक्षो भविष्यति ।।

Skanda P., I. 1. 9. 44

Here 'Vimarśa' (deliberation and discussion), jñāna (knowledge derived from contemplation) and moksha (release) are

1. Cunningham, G. WATTS, Problems of Philosophy, p. 4.
2. Majumdar, R. C., The Struggle For Empire", p. 398.
3. Ibid., p. 399.

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urged to bring political liberation. Indra was deprived of his kingdom by king Indrasena, who vanquished the former by the force of his arms. It is in this context that moksha or deliverance refers to the freedom from political bondage and the recovery of kingdom, so lost by Indra, the king of the Suras (gods). An instance to this effect—that the wise people should deliberate upon the problem, as it leads to the realisation of truth, which, in turn, brings deliverance—we may point to the discussion of such knotty problems of national importance, as to how this country had been occupied by the Mlechchhas (Skanda P., V. III. 5. 14). Thus Vimarśa-sthānaṁ (Rūpashaṭkaṁ, p. 188) had its unique significance in the evolution of Hindu medieval thought. Nava Sāhaśaṁka Charita styled it Viveka-vartma based on shaḍguṇa, and Upāya-tatva (N. S. Ch., X. 10). Kṛishṇa-Miśra, the Chandella minister and a poet, portrayed his age urging the efficacy of viveka,[1] which alone could dislodge Mahārāja Moha[2] stimulated by women, wine and passion (veśyā, āsava, manmathotsava)[3] as well as heretics (Veda-viplāvakā....muṇḍitā muṇḍāḥ)[4] viz. Buddhists[5] and Jains.[6] It asserted the importance of Daṇḍanīti (Daṇḍanītireva Vidyā)[7]

According to Śukra, King is also known as Daṇḍa and his nīti, which regulates, governs and guides, is called Daṇḍanīti.[8] Rightly, Matsya holds that it is the custodian of law and order in the society (maryādāsthāpanārthañcha daṇḍanītiḥ pravartate).[9] Skanda asserts that it is code of

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1. Prabodha Ch., I. 11, 12; p. 26.
2. Ibid., p. 50; p. 79 :
   भट्टारक महराजाधिराज परमेश्वर महामोह·····।
3. Ibid., II. 1; p. 79 :
   काम सहचरो
4. Ibid., p. 54.
5. Ibid., II. 4.
6. Ibid., p. 100.
7. Ibid., p. 17.
8. Śukranīti (Eng. Tr. B. K. Sarkara) p. 22, VV. 313-314,
   Ibid., I. 156.
9. Matsya P., CXLII, 74,

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punishment to the evil doers for the guidance of those who have to wield the royal sceptre and as such it was highly respected by Kings (Daṇḍayitrī Daṇḍanītiḥ dushṭadaṇḍa-dharārchitā).[1] But kings spurred by vices violated it and it led to collapse (durnaya paripāka).[2] These vices viz. hostility (vaira),[3] mutual wars (anyonya-kalaha),[4] rivalry (baddha sparddha)[5] and sensuous passion (madana-mohāṁ-dhatā)[6] stupefied them. Hence Sarasvatī had herself to rush to enlighten the minds (prabodhanāya)[7] of kshatriya rulers by destroying their stupidity (durvinaya) and miseries so caused.[8] She earnestly appealed for the life of detachment (vairāgya).[9] She is styled Vaiyāsikī Sarasvatī (Vairāgyot-pattaye Vaiyāsikīṁ Sarasvatīṁ) who was deputed in person to awaken (prabodhodayāya) the kshatriya rulers from deep slumber engrossed in passion, hostility, inebriety and envy (rāgadvesha mada mātsaryādayaḥ).[10]

Naya-Bhāratī (Yogavaśishṭha, II. 17. 1.)

and Vaiyāsikī Sarasvatī paved way for the intellectual renaissance and reformation based on historical tradition and philosophy and this intellectual revolution was spurred by Vishṇu-bhakti :

सरस्वती प्रेषिता·····विष्णु भक्त्या ।
सखि सरस्वति, गच्छापत्य व्यसनखिन्नस्य मनसः प्रबोधनाय ।
यथा च तस्य वैराग्योत्पत्तिर्भवति तथा यतस्वेति····· ।"

Prabodha Ch., p. 181

Sarasvatī consoles :—

(उपसृत्य) वत्स, किमेवमतिविक्लवोऽसि ननुविदित पूर्वैव भवता भावा-नामनित्यता, अधीतानि च त्वयैतिहासिकान्युपाख्यानानि । तथा हि—

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1. Skanda P., IV. I. 29. 88.
2. P. B. Ch., p. 170.
3. Rūpashaṭkam p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 7.
6. Ibid., p. 38.
7. P. B. Ch., p. 181.
8. Ibid., p. 181.
9. Ibid., p. 181.
10. P. B. Ch., p. 179.

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Do not feel disturbed and distressed thinking the transitory nature of the worlds' existence :

भूत्वा कल्पशतायुषोऽम्बुजभवः सेन्द्राश्च देवा सुरा।
मन्वाद्या मुनयोमही जलधयो नष्टाः परं कोटयः ॥
मोहः कोऽयमहो महानुदयते लोकस्य शोकावहः।
सिन्धोः फेनसमेगते वपुषि यत्पञ्चात्मके पञ्चताम् ॥

Prabodha Cha., V. 14

Sarasvatī implores and inspires the spirit of Unity :—

तद्भावय भावानामनित्यताम् । नित्यमनित्यवस्तुदर्शनो न पश्यति शोकावेगम् । यतः— PB. Ch. p. 183.

एकमेव सदा ब्रह्म सत्यमन्यद्विकल्पितम् ।
को मोहस्तत्र कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥

Prabodha Ch., V. 15

Sarasvatī asserted that the nalional distress was based on the life and philosophy of attachment (P. B. Ch., p. 184). It urges to discriminate between 'nitya' and 'anitya', former, permanent and eternal, leads to bliss, while the latter, the transitory emotions and aspirations, cause misery and trouble. In brief, Sarasvatī fondles the kshatriya rulers with her filial affection, so asking them not to be excited by the violence of their enemies (amīshāmapakāriṇāmarthe ko'yamatyāveśo bhavataḥ).[1] Many such vicious and valiant invaders had been disposed off. So what, if they suffered at the hands of those sinful people :

तीर्णाः पूर्णाः कति न सरितो लंघितो के न शैलाः।
नाक्रान्ता वा कति वन भुवः क्रूर संचार घोराः ॥
पापैरेतैः किमिव दुरितं कारितो नासिकस्टं।
यदृष्टास्तेधनमदमषी म्लानवक्त्रादुरीशाः ॥

P. B. Ch., V. 18

Sarasvatī drew their attention towards religious[2] and political unity.[3] Sarasvatī's instructions were based on those of ancient sages[4] inspired by the philosophy of Upani-

1. PB. Ch., p. 185.
2. Ibid., p. 173.
3. Ibid., V. 8.

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shadas.[1] It was a great intellectual revolution which sustained and supported the defenders of this beautiful country.

Yogavaśishṭha asserts the importance of adhyātmajñāna, the nobest thought, hence, styled Rāja vidyā, by the knowledge of which klngs got relieved of their mental agonies.[2] Kingdoms, wealth, and pleasures are the fruits of thought.[3] King is guided by prudent thought. Through deep meditation he can assess the true nature of things in the times of distress, and confusion regarding the problems asociated with saṁdhi and vigraha.[4] Thus vimarśa and viveka alone help a king in deciding his policy and action pertaining to peace and war. Kṛishṇa Miśra upheld the might of Vichāra-śara (thought, sharp and effective like arrows) for the destruction of enemies :

सोऽहं प्रकीर्णैः परितो विचारैः शरैरिवोन्मथ्य बलं परेषाम् ।
सैन्यं कुरूणामिव सिन्धुराजं गाण्डीवधन्वेव निहन्मि कामम् ।।
Prabodha Ch., IV. 14

There is pun on the word Siṁdhu-rāja, which represents Jayadratha, the Epic King of Siṁdhu-Sauvīra (modern Sind), as well as a Muslim ruler of Siṁdha. Chandella minister approves of Vastu-vichāra for the sustenance of life (vastu-vichareṇaiva jīyate)[5] and the same expedient is summoned—

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1. Ibid., p. 196.
2. Y. V., II. 11. 18 :
   राजविद्या राजगुह्यं अध्यात्मज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।
   ज्ञात्वा राघव राजानः पारं निर्दुःखताम् गताः ।।
3. Ibid., II. 14. 10 :
   राज्यानि सम्पदः स्फारा भोगो मोक्षश्च शाश्वतः ।
   विचारकल्पवृक्षस्य फलान्येतानि राघव ।।
4. Ibid., II. 14. 38.
   कार्यसंकट संदेहम् राजा जानाति राघव ।
   निष्फलं सफलं वापि विचारेणैव नान्यथा ।।
5. P. B. Ch., p. 141.

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तमेव·····विजयार्थम्·····आहूयतां वस्तुविचारः ।

P. B. Ch., p. 141

It is this philosophy, which breaks the chain of human bondage, physical, mental and political. Thus politics had been closely associated with philosophy. Gītā, an acknowledged philosophical text, traces its origin from the battle-field, where in the midst of warring armies the great Epic hero drooped down on his charriot throwing away his bow. Kṛishṇa, a great political thinker, rejuvenated new vigour and blood in the mind and heart of Arjuna. Kṛishṇa represents an institution—a school of thought, recognised by Śukra (Śukra-nīti, IV. 129). Similarly Śukra and Bṛihaspati were two ancient schools of political philosophy, which influenced and inspired Medieval Indian Thought. It is rightly said :

"The Owl of Minerva takes its flight,
Only when the twilight shades begin to fall."

With the advent of Rajanī-parābhavaṁ,[1] the poets and thinkers drew attention of the Rājapūta princes towards the immortality of soul as preached by Gītā. They were spurred to fight and enjoy the company of divine ladies viz. apsaras by meeting death in the battle field.

## HINDU MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

Daṇḍī (Daśakumāra Charita), Somadeva Sūrī (Yaśasatilaka and Nītivākyāmṛita), Kshemendra (Bṛihat Kathāmañjarī), Somadeva (Kathāsarita Sāgara), Viśākhadatta (Mudrārākshasa) and Jayānaka (Pṛithivirājavijaya) have discussed different problems of their epochs in their respective works. Inscriptions of this epoch are also very important for the study of Rājaśāstra.[2] Space does not permit me to discuss these different schools of thought. But we may now set forth the salient features of the politics of the period based on the well-known works of the age.

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1. P.V., II. 17.
2. C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 150, (lines 23-24); p. 157 (lines 25-26); Anjanerī Plates (First set) of Bhogaśakti, Year 461 (=710-11 Ac).

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**Ārya Chāṇakya Nīti**

Daṇḍī's political ideas were inspired by the Kauṭilyan school of Political philosophy to which Kāmandaka, too, owes not a little. He was conversant with the Arthaśāstras of Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka.[1] He tells us that Āchārya Vishṇugupta had composed his work on Daṇḍanīti comprising six thousand verses for the guidance of Mauryan King:

अधीष्व तावद्दण्डनीतिम् । इयमाचार्य विष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता ।[2]

It refers to Kauṭilyan Arthaśāstra. Daṇḍanīti is styled Kulavidyā of the Kshatriyas.[3] It leads to the abode of happiness guiding with its light based on Śāstras :

आगम दीप दृष्टेन खल्वध्वना सुखेन वर्तते लोकयात्रा ।[4]

Kauṭilya himself tells us : "This Śāstra has been made by him who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda King".[5]

**Importance of Kauṭilyan Politics**

Thus the significance of Kauṭilyana politics is evidently very great as far as the recovery of kingdom was concerned. It is for this reason that Kauṭilya was held high in the national life of our country. Hammīramadamardana, a Saṁskrit drama written between A. D. 1219 and 1229 by Jayasiṁha Sūrī, a contemporary of King Vīradhavala of Gujrat deals with the efficacy of Chāṇkyan Politics. It is divided into five acts.

The theme of the play is based on the struggle between Turushkas and the rulers of Gujrat. The Turkish Chief styled Hammīra invaded Gujrat in course of his campaigns in the Western India. Yādava King Siṁghana also threate-

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1. D. K. Ch. Pūrva, I, p. 23.
   कौटिल्य कामन्दकीयादि नीतिपटल कौशलं.....
2. Ibid., Uttara., VII, p. 256.
3. Ibid., Uttara, VIII, p. 254.
4. Ibid., Uttara, VIII, p. 254.
5. K. A. S , (Shamsastry, 1951) p. 463.

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ned Gujrat at this time. Thus confronted by the dangers to his country King Vīradhavala consulted his ministers Tejapāla and Vastupāla, who warned the king to desist from his aggressive policy unless he had secured his own position by securing the help of Mewar princes. Second Act displays the diplomatic manoures by means of which the astute minister succeeded in creating dissension in one camp—between Simghana and his ally Samgrāma Simha, who joined the camp of Vīradhavala. In Act III we hear of Mlechchhas' attack on Mewar. But the strategy of Vastupāla forces the Turkish invader to leave Mewar. In Act IV another strategy of the astute minister poisons the mind of Khalifa of Baghdad against Hammīra, the Turkish invader, whose army was repulsed. In the last act we are told that Vastupāla released the two preceptors of Hammīra, who were to dissuade their disciple to abstain from committing cruelities. Thus Vastupāla, who is compared to Chāṇakya, the minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, succeeded in rescuing the kingdom of Gujrat by driving out the Turkish army. Thus the role of Chāṇakya and his politics was well recognised in the Medieval India.

Mudrārākshasa, too, showers an encomium on the astute diplomacy of Chāṇakya styled Ārya Chāṇakya Nīti:

Somadeva Sūri also asserts :

विना जीवितमस्वस्थे यथौषधविधिर्वृथा ।
तथा नीतिविहीनस्य वृथा विक्रमवृत्तयः ॥
Yaśastilaka, III. 260.

i.e. There is no gain to medical treatment provided to a person whose period of life is exhausted. Similarly valourous deeds (and romantic chivalry of the Rājapūtas) devoid of political thought were of no avail. Viśākhadatta extols Ārya-Chāṇakya-nīti[1] for its efficacy in the destruction of the enemies (pratihata pratipakshā Arya-Chaṇakya-nītiḥ).[2] Navasāhasāṁka Charita also eulogises Nayaśāstra, compar-

1. M. R., VI, p. 254 (after VI-2).
2. Ibid., VI-1.

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ing it with dīpa-śikhā, which dispells darkness from the face of the earth.[1] Hence the Paramāra court-poet urges :

अधुना तु नीतिनिहितेन चेतसा फणिलोक कृत्यमिदमेवचिन्त्यताम् ॥[2]

Prithivīrāja Vijaya also asserts the importance of the combination of political wisdom and valour for the prosperity of the state and kingdom :

नयसिक्ताप्रतापेन क्रमात्पल्लवितोद्गमा ।
विकसत्कान्तिपटला फलत्पुण्यपरम्परा ॥
P. V., V. 98

दत्ताशीश्शमित क्लान्तिक्षुत्पिपासैसदाध्वगैः ।
लक्ष्मीर्यद्भुजमारूढा वृद्धिं शाखाशतगता ॥
Ibid., V. 99

Jayānaka adds—

प्रज्ञाबलोत्साहसिध्युपाय गुणोदया ।
सर्वांग सुन्दरी यस्य नीतिर्वल्लभतां ययौ ॥
Ibid., V. 104

Viśākhadatta too summons Nītividyā with all its aṁgas and Śākhas :

गुणवत्युपाय निलये स्थिति हेतोः साधिके त्रिवर्गस्य
मद्भवन नीतिविद्ये कार्यादार्ये द्रुतमुपेहि ॥
M. R., I. 5

"O noble lady, science of polity incarnate in my house (i.e. in our country) come with haste for the accomplishment of an ātyāyika along with (six) guṇas, (four) upāyas, and siddhis for the stabilisation of State and society. Thus it is evident that Post-Harsha period of Indian history was permeated with the mental activities and intellectual unrest caused by the influx of alien conquerors viz. Tājikas and Turushkas. It led to the development of polity based on new forces and institutions. Despite our researches most of us still believe that after the death of Harsha, "In political institutions no evolution took place".[3]

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1. N. S. Ch., X. 6.
2. Ibid., X. 24.
3. E. H. I., p. 371,

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The age marked by the alien invasions as well as occupation of Sindha, Panjāba and North Western Hill-country by the Mlechchhas stirred the mind of national poets and thinkers. The fundamental state structure remained the same as was prevalent in the past, but new political institutions as well as instruments of war moved ahead to meet the challenge which threatened the country and culture.

Popular stories became medium of political instructions and Rājanīti was exhaustively expounded and elaborated in the various stories (nānā kathāmtare tatra rāja nīti vido mithaḥ).[1] Jātakas, Pañchatamtra, Kathākosha of Harisheṇa, Bṛihatkathā Mañjarī and Kathāsarita Sāgara are such treasures of Hindu genius exihibited in the discussion of Rājanaya.

These thinkers visualised the compendium of politics in the form of a rājya-vṛiksha or nīti-vṛiksha. Somadeva Sūrī holds :

अष्टशाखं चतुर्मूलं षष्टिपत्रं द्वयेस्थितम् ।
षटपुष्पं त्रिफलं वृक्षं यो जानाति स नीतिवत् ॥

Yaśastilaka, III. 260.

Daṇḍī observes :

"राज्यंनाम शक्तित्रयात्तम, शक्तयश्च मन्त्रप्रभावोत्साहाः परस्परानुगृहीताः कृत्येषु क्रमन्ते । मन्त्रेण हि विनिश्चयोऽर्थानाम् प्रभावेण प्रारम्भः, उत्साहेन निर्वहणम् । अतः पञ्चांगमन्त्रमूलः, द्विरूपप्रभावस्कन्धः, चतुर्गुणोत्साह विटपः, द्विसप्तति प्रकृतिपत्रः, षड्गुणकिसलयः, शक्तिसिद्धि पुष्पफलश्च, नयवनस्पतिर्नेतुरुपकरोति ।"

Daśakumāracharita, Uttara, VIII. 276.

It is an abridged treatise styled nīti-taru, complete in itself, sufficient enough to meet the challenge of "durvāravairi-vara-vāraṇa styled Mātaṅga-mahā-bhaya. Kathāsarita Śāgara also mentions it styled Rājanītisamuchchaya (K. S. S., XXXIV. 189) dealing with kingship, the royal conduct based on decency and decorum of conduct, appointment of ministers after careful examination and tests (Upadhābhiḥ....

1. B. K. M., VII. 597.

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....parīkshitān), Daṇḍa, chāra (spy), Kosha-daṇḍa (treasury and army), Kaṅṭakas (thorns), as well as tri-śaktis, upāyas and guṇas for the conquest of enemy's lands (paradeśa jigīshuḥ). The ignorant of these elements of Hindu Polity meets his doom. Times were very hard.[2] Princes, under the state of stress and strain,[3] could not learn the large treatises on politics. Hence short compendiums like Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra based on Sutra style were composed.

Vishṇudharmottaram presents the saptāṁga-rājya, which was to be protected :

किं नु कृत्यतमं राज्ञस्तन्ममाचक्ष्व पृच्छतः ।
राज्यतन्त्रं कथं राज्ञा पालनीयं विपश्चिता ॥
Vishṇu Dh., II. CXLIV. 1

सप्तांगस्य च राज्यस्य भावयुक्तेन भूभृता ।
एतावदेव कर्तव्यं राज्ञातन्त्रं भृगूत्तम ॥
Ibid., II. CXLIV. 2

साम दानं तथा दुर्गं कोषो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
मित्रं जनपदश्चैव राज्यं सप्तांगमुच्यते ॥
Ibid., II. CXLIV. 3

Vishṇudharmottaraṁ reflects the Post-Harsha period of Indian history, when Siṁdha was occupied by the Arabs styled 'Saiṁdhavā Mlechchhā nāstikyā Yavanāstathā (V. D. R., I. IX. 7), who are placed in the West. Does it not reflect and represent a change in the constitution of State ? Svāmī and amātya are replaced by Sāma and Dāna, the two important expedients for securing the well-being of the state. Vishṇu Dharmottaraṁ asserts :—

सप्तांगस्य च राज्यस्य विघ्नकर्तॄन्विवासयेत् ।
अहितान्घातयेद्राजा क्षिप्रमेवाविचारयन् ॥
V. D. R., II. CXLIV. 4

सप्ताङ्गस्य च राज्यस्य वृद्धिः कार्या सुमण्डले ।
मण्डलेषु च सर्वेषु कर्षणीया महीक्षिता ॥
Ibid., II. CXLIV. 5

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1. K. S. S., XXXIV, 190-206.

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मण्डलानि समाचक्ष्व विजगीषोर्यथाविधि ।
यान्याश्रित्य नृपैः कार्यं सन्धि विग्रहचिन्तनम् ॥
Ibid., II. CXLIV. 6

'Chiṁtanaṁ' (contemplation, deliberation, and discussion) reflects national consciousness, which urged the destruction of the enemies, internal or external, particularly the Mlechchhas (Mlechchhaiḥ Saṁchhādite deśa sa taduchchhittaye nṛipaḥ).[1] It could be accomplished by means of Maṇḍala policy (V. D. R., II. CXLIV. 7-13) upholding the importauce of saṁdhi and vigraha according to the exigency of the time (V. D. R., II. CXLIV. 14-19). It urges the growth of power (pratāpa-vṛiddhi).[2] It also upholds the use of Māyā-jāla or Indra-jāla[3] (Chhala-nīti) for the destruction of enemy. Thus alone king could relieve the country of Parachakra-bhaya.[4] Thus important developments took place in the Hindu Medieval India based on liberty, unity and equality.

**Political System of Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya**

The age of Prithivīrāja III represents a turning point in the history of India. Ancient India came to an abrupt end after the second Battle of Tarain (1192 A. D.), where Pṛithivīrāja III suffered crushing defeat at the hands of Mohammad Ghorī.[5] He quits the political stage and most probably retired to tapovana to embrace asceticism as is evident by the observations of Prithvīrāja vijaya[5] (I. 48-49), where Rāma

1. R. T., I. 107.
2. V. D. R., II, CXLV. 19-20.
3. Ibid., II. CXLVIII. 7-9; II. CXLIX. 1-3.
4. Ibid., II. CLIV. 21.
5. The end of Pṛithivīrāja III is controversial (E. Ch. D., pp. 86—88; H. Ch., pp. 204—209). His death is a mystery, like the one of our own age (that of Subhāsha Bābū). It is believed that Pṛithivīrāja tried to escape on a horse, but....overtaken in the neighbourhood of Sarasvatī (Dr. Sharma, E. Ch. D., p. 86). So far it is acceptable.

"The Chāhamāna monarch, on the other hand, who was an inveterate enemy of the Musalmans, was obviously not prepared to accept the overlordship of the Sultan. He preferred death to serfdom; but, as long as he was alive, he might have endeavoured to overthrow the

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Hari (Prithivīrāja III) is stated to have embraced jinatva (PV., I, 48) and tāpasatā (PV., I. 59). His exit, however, from the stage was marked by violence and vandalism of the Turkish armies (PV., I. 50—51) marked by a reign of persecution and terror to Brāhmaṇas (PV. I. 52) and sacred spots (PV., I. 53) as well as social and religious life (PV., I. 54—56). Age of crisis and catastrophe marked by

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*(Contd. from p. 155)*

rule of Sultan, who therefore, took the safest course to put an end to his life in prison" (Dr. R. B. Singh, Hist. Ch., p. 209). It is true that he could not accept the vassalage of Mlechchha-Mātaṁga, whose very contact was abhorred (kathaṁ Mātaṁga saṁgo me nyāyya, PV., XI. 11). Dr. Sharma asserts that "Muslim as well as Hindu historians bear incontestable testimony to the fact that valiant Chauhāns knew well how to die and sell their lives dear. Many a time they fought on even when there was least chance of success, because they considered it disgraceful to surrender or flee (E. ch. D., p. 321)." Pṛithivīrāja escaped to escape the disgrace or death at the hands of Mlechchha. It was the only way left open to Bhārateśvara, an incarnation of Rāma :

विपत्सु च कुलीनां वियोगेषु च धीमताम् ।
पराजये च शूराणां वृत्तिरेका तपोवनम् ॥

Bṛihat Kathā Maṁjarī, XVII. 35.

Prithivīrāja Vijaya makes no secret of it :

त्वयापि कामं कलिकाल रात्रौ निद्राविधेयत्वमुपागतेन ।
केशान्धनान्गर्जित भीरुणेव हित्वा स्थितं शान्ततया जिनत्वे ॥

PV., 1. 45.

कलावमुष्मिन्विरतोद्यमेषु क्रतुक्रियायां द्विजमण्डलेषु ।
भोगे हविर्भागमये समाप्ते जातो भृशं मन्दबलस्सुरेन्द्रः ॥

Ibid., I. 46.

इज्याभिघातादभिभूयते भूः कलावनावृष्टि महाभयेन ।
इत्युद्यमं पावकनन्दस्य निषेधति क्षीणमदो मयूरः ॥

Ibid., I. 47.

उत्तेजितं रामतया कुलं यदुद्वेजितं तद्भवता जिनत्वे ।
इत्यन्वयं स्वं प्रति संदिहानो मन्दप्रभस्सूरिरिवाद्य सूर्यः ॥

Ibid., I. 48.

त्वया हरे तापसतामुपेत्य सख्ये गृहीते हरिणैरिदानीम् ।
निवासभूमिर्मम पुष्करं तदास्कन्दि मातङ्गमहाभयेन ॥

Ibid., I. 49.

*(Contd. on p. 157)*

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struggle for survival began. It is aptly styled Rajanī-parā-bhavaṁ (PV., II. 17)—dark night of distress.

Evidently then it heralded new developments in the political organisation of the country. All the rulers of this dynasty were nationalist rulers whose svadharma was protection of the country, culture and people destroying those

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*(Contd. from p. 156)*

The poet and the people still believed that Pṛithīvīrāja, Rama incarnate, alone could bring deliverance to them :

उपयास्यति भूमिपाल भावकलिकाले दशकन्धरातितायी ।
इति निश्चलनिश्चयो यदासौ भविता सम्भविता तदास्य मुक्तिः ।।

It is with this faith that poet made entreaties— PV., VII. 6.

उत्तिष्ठमाने त्वयि माननीय शंकास्पदं कस्य कलिर्वराकः ।
न हि त्रिलोकी भयभञ्जनार्थे तवोद्यमे द्वापरमप्यवैमि ।।

PV., I. 74.

But the hero was enjoying the blessings of solitude—hermitage, his state—and Rājarshi would not leave it :

चक्रे राज्याश्रमपदमुनेस्संनिधानेस्य सत्वै-
वैरत्यागस्स्वयमिति दिशः किंवदन्त्या भ्रमन्तया ।
यस्मिञ्जन्म प्रभृति भगवान सन्निधत्तेस्मरारि-
स्स्थातुं वाञ्छामकृत हृदये तत्र तस्य स्मरोपि ।।

Jonarāja comments— PV., XI. 105.

"राज्यमेवाश्रमपदं तत्र मुने राजर्षेः पृथिवीराजस्य संनिधाने सत्त्वैः प्राणिभिर्वैर त्यागः कृत इति वार्तया भ्रमन्त्या हेतुभूतया यत्र चेतसि स्मरारिस्संनिहिता स्मरोपि तत्र चेतसि स्थातुं संनिधानमकरोत् ।"

It was the real conquest of a Śura :

बलेन परराष्ट्राणि गृह्णन् शूरस्तु नोच्यते ।
जितो येनेन्द्रियग्रामः स शरः कथ्यते बुधैः ।।

Daksha Smṛiti, VII. 18.

Thus is fully justified the title of this great poetic work styled Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya—

कवेस्स तत्त्वं कवि रेव वेद ।.....P.V., I. 30.

The poet echoes the sentiments of the nation, but the hero went undeterred on the path, enternal, thinking—

अस्थिरेण शरीरेण स्थिरं कर्म समाचरेत् ।

गरुड़ पु० २ । ३५ । ३९

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who threatened them. As such they were trained in the national school of Pratihāra politics (pratiharaṇa vidhe yo pratīhāra āsīt).[1] They had matrimonial relations with Pratihāras of Kanauj[2] and Chālukyas of Gujrat,[3] who fought for freedom of the country. But these dynasties related with one an other by the bonds of blood and bone, quarrelled among themselves and these wars proved suicidal. It was consequently urged that they should combine to regain the lost power:

समानान्वयजातानां परस्परविरोधिनाम् ।
परैः प्रत्यभिभूतानां प्रसूते संगतिः श्रियम् ।।

Prabodha Ch., V. 8.

रे रुक्मिबान्धवनृपाः परमः क्रमो वः, सम्बन्धिनो वयममी भवतोऽप्युपेताः ।
अस्माभिरैक्यमधिगम्यरणोत्सवेऽस्मिन्नासूत्र्यतां विशद बाहुमदोपयोगः ।।

Rūpshtk., Rukmini, IV. 5.

It exhibits a change in the thinking process of the Indian nation in that age. But it is not noticed by the modern researchers.

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya refers to political thinkers[4] (nītijñā, Pv., XII. 39) like Śukra (PV., II. 20) and Bṛihaspati[5] (PV., XII. 35). The science of Politics is styled Nīti,[6] Naya[7] and Rāja vidyā.[8] The poet conceives of Nīti as a woman comprising the beautiful limbs of prajñā, (political wisdom), bala (strength), utsāha (Valour), sidhyupāya (four upāyas for the attainment of success), and guṇas (shaḍ guṇas aimed to promote the peace and prosperity of the State). Thus Sarvāṁga Suṅdarī Nīti[9] is presented in conformity with the

1. Gwalior Stone Ins. Of Bhoja, line 3.
2. P. V., V. 31.
3. Ibid., V. 51.
4. PV., IV. 60; V. 62.
5. Ibid., IX. 36.
6. Ibid., V. 62, 104; XI. 37.
7. Ibid., II. 44; V. 98.
8. Ibid., IX. 65.
9. Ibid., V. 104:

प्रज्ञाबलोत्साहसिध्युपायगुणोदया ।
सर्वांगसुन्दरीयस्य नीतिर्वल्लभतांययौ ।।

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national concept of Indian Medieval Thought (Cf MR., I.5–guṇavatyupāya nilaye.....nīti vidye). Jayānaka further upholds the efficacy of buddhi-bala[1] (intelligence) and Udyama[2] (strenuous exertion), and purushārtha (intensive effort).[3] Undetterred and undaunted by the forces of Daiva or Kāla, defender of the country i.e. Kshatriya, had to fight keeping in view the immortality of the soul—

युधि कश्शरीर निरपेक्षतां विना प्रविशेदुपेक्षित तनोश्च किं धनैः।
इति यो दधात्यखिल दातृतामयं स्फुटमेक एव पुरुषार्थ लक्षणम् ॥

PV., IX. 7.

**State and its Structure**

Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya exhibits its knowledge of the organic character of State and nīti was aimed to bring good to all its limbs (sarvāṁga)[4] viz. King,[5] minister,[6] army,[7] treasury,[8] fort (durga),[9] ally (mitra)[10] and territory[11] (pṛithvī) or deśa.[12] These are well-known constituents of State, the progress and prosperity of which depended upon their co-operation and co-ordination. Skanda asserts that Rājya devoid of sovereignty loses its vitality and existence :

न राज्यं राज्यमित्याहुर्राज्य श्री प्रेयसी ध्रुवम्।
सप्तांगमति तद्राज्यं तया हीनं तृणायते ॥

Skanda P., IV. i. 34. 98.

It reflects the exit of sovereignty from the stage.

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1. Ibid., XII. 39 :
   इति बुद्धिबलेन दुस्तरादपि चिन्ताजलधेस्समुद्धृतः।
   वदतामिव धर्मनन्दनः प्रथमस्सत्यवतां व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥
2. Ibid., XII. 41.
3. Ibid., XII. 56.
4. PV., V. 104.
5. Ibid., III. 7, 8, 75, 79; IV, 49, 53, 56; VII. 30; X. 3.
6. Ibid., II. 44; VI. 44; VIII. 58; IX. 44.
7. Ibid., X. 31, Sainya.
8. Ibid., VIII. 26.
9. Ibid., X. 31, 50.
10. Ibid., I. 67.
11. Ibid., VIII. 30.
12. Ibid., XI. 66.

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## KINGSHIP

**King's importance**—People in the absence of a king represent the physical bodies deprived of heads :—

परिवृढ रहितश्शिरोविहीनो भवतिपुमानिति यः पृथ् प्रवादः ।
अहित भुजभृता.....तम गमयच्चरितार्थतां नरेन्द्रः ।।

Jonarāja explains :—

"अस्वामिको लोकश्शिररहितो भवतीति यो महाञ्जनप्रवादस्तं शत्रुभटानां शिरांसिच्छत्वा सत्यार्थत्वमनयत् ।....." P. V., X.35

Thus Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya follows Śukra who asserts that King is the head of the state (saptāṁgamuchyate rājyaṁ tatra mūrdhā nṛipaḥ smṛitaḥ).[1] But the poet asserts, in his own poetic way, that the life of the state and people depends on the personality of king, whose presence secured the protection of the country and people.[2]

**Avadāta kshatriyatā (True kingship)**

The word Kshatra is explained as the source of sustenance and support against the injuries (kshatāt saṁtrāṇa nāt kshatraṁ).[3] He is usually styled Kshatriya because of keeping weapons with him (śastrāstra dhāraṇāt prāyaḥ kshatriyaḥ syāt).[4] Rāmayaṇa also asserts that Kshatriyas carried bow with them only to relieve the world of distress and misery (kshatriyair dhāryate chāpo nārtaś abdo bhavediti).[5] The title of Chāhamāna, the Ādi-purusha of this dynasty, rests on this concept of kshatra, kshatriya and Chāpa (bow):

करेणचापस्य हरेर्मनीषया बलेन मानस्य नयस्य मन्त्रिभिः ।
घृतस्यनामाग्निमवर्णनिर्मितां सचाहमानोयमिति प्रथां ययौ ।।
P.V., II. 44.

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1. Śukranīti, I. 61.
2. P. V., VIII. 4.
   सनाथां पृथिवीं मत्वा राजपुत्रस्य जन्मना ।
   रजोपि पस्पृशुस्तस्यास्त्रासादिव न मारुताः ।।
   Jonarāja explains—
   "राजपुत्रेण जातेन सस्वामिकां पृथिवीं संभाव्य भयादिव वायवो रजोपि भूर्मनपस्पृशुः ।।
3. Skanda P, IV. ii. 87. 32; Mārkaṇḍes, CXIX. 24.
4. Ibid., IV. ii. 87. 32.
5. Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇya K., X. 3.

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Similarly kṛipāṇa was also known for its quality of giving protection to the country and people (jagadrakshā parāyaṇaṁ.....kṛipāṇaṁ).[1] Sword was the only reliable friend of the Kshatriya Kings :

अस्ति प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिविपुल बलारण्यमूर्च्छत्प्रतापं
ज्योतिर्ज्वालावलीश त्रिभुवनविवरो विश्वविश्रान्तकीर्तिः ।
गोपालोभूमिपालान्प्रसभमसिलतामात्रमित्रेण जित्वा
साम्राज्ये कीर्तिवर्मा नरपतितिलको येन भूयोऽभ्यषेचि ।।

Prabodha Ch., I. 4

Such were the basic qualifications of a Kshatriya King in the Hindu Medieval India. Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, represents the sacred earth crying, under great stress and strain, for her saviour-the true Kshatriya gifted with the virtues of compassion and swordsmanship :[2]

यः कोपि वा साहसिकोऽस्ति लोके यस्यास्ति वा क्षत्रियतावदाता ।
कृपाकृपाणाभरणोऽस्ति यो वा स पातु मां मृत्युभयादमुष्मात् ।।

P. V., VI. 110

It shows the dearth of 'sat kshatriya'[3] or avadāta Kshatriya i.e. pure Kshatriya, who did not desert their post of duty by their abject betrayal. Such kshatriyas who did not stick to their sva-dharma were styled kshudra-kshatriya[4] i.e. the kshatriyas who did not adhere to kshatra-vrata, 'vīra-dhamma' or khaḍgabala[5] i.e. the sacred duty of a kshatriya (padaṁ vartmani kshatriyāṇāṁ).[6]

A sat-kshatriya was the refuge of dharma and dharā, there was a national urge for the services of an avadāta kshatriya.

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1. Rūpa shaṭkaṁ, p. 191.
2. Vikramāṁkadevacharita, I. 1 :
   स पातु वः कंसरिपोः कृपाणः ।
3. Rūpashaṭkaṁ, Kirātārjunīyaṁ, I. 39 :
   धर्मः कठोर कलिकाल कदर्थ्यमानः ।
   सत्क्षत्रियस्य शरणं किमिवानुयातः ।।
4. Rūpa-shaṭkaṁ, Rukmiṇiharaṇa Īhāmṛiga, I. 24.
   क्षुद्रक्षत्रिय कीटकैरविदितक्षात्रव्रतैः..... ।
5. Ibid., p. 70, verses 13-14.
6. Ibid., Kirātārjunīyaṁ Vyāyoga I. 42.

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But the history knows it well that most of the kshatriyas fled in terror. Hence such Kshatriya was rightly styled 'avarajaṁ.[1] Soḍḍhala exhorted :

देवक्षत्रियपुङ्गव ! प्रहरत संख्येष्वसंख्यमदप्रस्यद
प्रसरान्धसिन्धुरशिरः स्कन्धं कृपाणस्यते ।
धारासंगत मौक्तिक द्युतिपरीवेषच्छलादन्तिके
दत्तः काण्डपटो झटित्यभिसृताराति श्रियः संगमे ।।

Udayasuṁdarīkathā, p. 41.

Vishṇudharmottaraṁ also asserts the importance of kṛipāṇa.

कृपाणधाराविध्वस्तशत्रुसंघ समुद्भवा ।
न या श्रीः किं तया कार्यं राजन्सत्त्वतां नृणाम् ।।

V. D. R., I. 211.5.

It also upholds the efficacy of chāpa (bow) :

विद्यमानेषु चापेषु कः सहेत् पराभवम् ।।

V. D. R., I. 211.22

**Rājatvaṁ (PV., V. 36)**

Thus, in short, we conclude that the fundamental basis of kingship in Hindu Medieval India was the purification of the country[2] (pṛithivīṁ pavitratāṁ netuṁ rājaśabda kṛitārthatāṁ).[3] "Vigraharāja IV performed this duty well enough ; and it is with no little pride that he speaks of his having rendered Āryāvarta worthy of its name by the repeated extermination of the Mlechchhas i. e. the Muslim invaders from the north-west : "[4]

आर्यावर्त्तं यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान्म्लेच्छविच्छेदनाभि
र्हेवः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते बीसलक्षोणिपालः ।।

Delhi Pillar Ins. of Bīsaladeva, verse 3.

Pṛithivīrāja III, too, justified his title of rājā by destroying the Mlechchhas (PV., VIII. 30-31). But it did not last long and the collapse of Pṛithivīrāja III led to destruction of rājarājatvaṁ (PV., VI. 88). Hindu kings were forced to embrace the status of vassalage.

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1. Rāmachrita (Abhinanda kṛita), XXXVIII. 96,
2. P. V., VIII. 31.
3. Ibid., VIII. 30.
4. E. Ch., D., p. 60.

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**Origin of Kingship.**

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya also traces the origin of kingship to an urge to avert the evils of *mātsyanyāya:*

दिक्पालतेजोमयमूर्तिभाजां कवीञ्जधांसन्ति बुधाः पुरोयत् ।
राज्ञामिदं तद्वरुणोपदिष्टं मात्स्यं प्रतिन्यायमुपेक्षकत्वम् ॥
P. V., I. 27.

Here Jayānaka follows Manu relating to the origin of kingship :—

अराजके हि लोकेस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुतेभयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥
Manu, VII. 3

इन्द्रानिल यमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्यशाश्वतीः ॥
Ibid., VII. 4

यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥
Ibid., VII. 5

तपत्यादित्यवच्चैषां चक्षूंषि च मनांसि च ।
न चैनं भुवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥
Ibid., VII. 6

सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोमः स धर्मराट् ।
स कुवेर स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥
Ibid., VII. 7

Mahābhārata (Śānti Parva, Chap. CXXII) gives an exhaustive account of this ancient tradition, which describes the origin, evolution and divinity of kingship in ancient India.

**Divinity of Kingship**

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya upholds the divine character of Hindu monarchy. Pṛithivīrāja III is, himself, equated to Rāma, (P. V., I. 33). King is compared to Indra (Pṛithivīpuraṁdara)[1] and other divine personalities like Varuṇa,

1. P. V., IV. 87.

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Mahendra, and Yama etc.,[1] as well as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva, Ravi and Kārtikeya[2] based on the identity of functions, a kshatriya king had to perform. The Chāhamāna rulers from Chāhamāna to Pṛithivīrāja III are stated to have represented Āditya.[3] Pṛithivīrāja III and his minister Kadambavāsa have been respectively mentioned as Rāma[4] and Hanumaṁta.[5] The former is repeatedly referred to as the God-incarnate (devatā tanumāśritya).[6] Pṛithivīrāja III is also compared to Brahmā (P. V., IX. 78) and Indra Kshiti-jishṇu, P. V., XII. 5). Harirāja, his brother, is called Lakshmaṇa The king is equated to the well-known daśāvataras[7] of Vishṇu with a mission to relieve the earth of the calamities.[8]

**Titles.** The royal titles viz. nareśvara,[9] narapāla,[10] narapati[11] as well as dharaṇīpāla,[12] pṛithivīpati,[13] and kshitipati[14] reflect the royal function of giving protection to the country and people. The epithet mahī-mihira[15] too reflects the kingly duty of destroying distress and darkness from the earth like that of sun.

**King's Character and Qualities**

King was desired to be a kshatriya of pure conduct[16] gifted with the merits and virtues, which led to his election

1. P. V., V. 132.
2. Ibid., VI. 32-38.
3. Ibid., VIII. 74.
4. Ibid., I. 33.
5. Ibid., etc. IX. 38.
6. Ibid., IX. 45, 48, 50—5853 etc.
   Ibid., IX. 67 :
   उपगम्य दिव्यतनुतां
7. Ibid., IX. 49-54.
8. Ibid , IX. 54.
9. Ibid., IV. 79.
10. Ibid., IV. 75.
11. Ibid., X. 3.
12. Ibid., IV. 49.
13. Ibid., IV. 53.
14. Ibid., IV. 56.
15. Ibid., IV. 58.
16. Ibid., VI. 110.

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by Rāja Lakshmī (guṇa vadbhir vṛitā lakshmīḥ).[1] It reminds us of Skanda Gupta's election by Lakshmī.[2] Piety and noble conduct (pūrṇaiḥ, puṇyaiḥ)[3] as well as divine splendour (Āditya-dyutayaḥ)[4] emnating from qualities, virtues and beauty[5] were also requisite qualifications of a person befitting the exalted throne.[6] Thus youth and vigour (yauvana śrī)[6] as well as discipline and self control (vinaya vaśamvadatā) and eloquence (vadānyatā)[7] were the royal virtues.

The character and qualities of king were developed by training (dīkshitatvaṁ)[8] and education (nṛipa śikshā).[9] King had to attain proficiency in the science of arms (śikshitamastra vidyayā)[10] and art of warfare (Yuddhatatva)[11] comprising archery (chāpa kauśala kalā),[12] swordsmanship[13] and horse-riding.[14] Thus it is evident that a prince was highly educated in arts and sciences suited to his job.

**Vyasana (Vices)**

Like the other works dealing with political ideas, Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya also holds that a king had to lead a restricted and restrained life, devoid of vices. Hunting (mṛigayā) and drinking (kādambarī)[15] are stated to be vices, though these were the popular means of royal recreation (mṛigayā vinoda).[16] But there were five particular vices styled ari-pañchaka—enemies of the royal splendour, and

1. P. V. VIII. 7.
2. Junagarh Rock Ins. of Skanda Gupta, verse 5.
3. P. V., VI. 25; VIII 31.
4. Ibid., VIII. 74.
5. Ibid., X. 3.
6. Cf., M. R., III. 18.
7. P. V., X. 5.
8. Ibid., X. 42.
9. Ibid., IX. 18.
10. Ibid., XII. 10.
11. Ibid., X. 30.
12. Ibid., IX. 57, 58.
13. Ibid., IX. 61.
14. Ibid., IX. 59, 60.
15. Ibid., IV. 14, 21.
16. Ibid., IV. 27.

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these were subservient to Kāma (passion).[1] Kauṭilya, Śukra, Bṛihaspati and other thinkers also assert that shaḍvarga-ari i. e. sixfold enemy should be suppressed and subdued in order to attain self-control.[2] Śukra mentions these six vices as passion, anger, stupidity, greed, pride, and arrogance in which kings should not indulge themselves.[3] It will bring happiness to him. Bṛihaspati also enjoins kings to give up these vices.[4] But Jayānaka, aptly, assigns the highest place to Kāma (passion and lust) making ari-pañchaka i. e. krodha, moha, lobha, māna and mada, subordinate to the former (Kāmānuyātamaripañchakaṁ).[5] Gītā, too, holds that he, whose senses are mastered, attains the stability of prajñā (Gītā, II. 61). All these vices lead to utter ruin (Gītā, II. 62-63) Thus the author of Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya urged strongly the rulers to be conscious of the dragon, the Kāma.

**Functions of King**

People's happiness (prajā sukha),[6] protection and prosperity (prajā kshema)[7] were the most important duties of a king, who was the support[8] and sustenance of the country (Vasudhāṁ babhāra).[9] He gave protection to all the creatures (rakshati charācharaṁ jagat)[10] particularly to the sacred country of Bhārata.[11]

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1. P. V., IV. 59.
   कामानुयातमरिपंचकमन्यदाहुस्तस्मिञ्जिते तदपि ते पुरतो वराकम् ।
2. K. Arthaśāstra I. 7.1 :
   तस्मादरिषडवर्गत्यागेनेन्द्रियजयंकुर्वीत् ।
3. Śukranīti, I. 142 :
   कामक्रोधस्तथा मोहो लोभो मानोमदस्था ।
   षडवर्गमुत्सृजदेनमस्मिंस्त्यक्तेसुखी नृपः ॥
4. Bārhaspatya Sūtra, I. 106.
5. P. V., IV. 59.
6. Ibid., III. 21.
7. Ibid., VIII. 65.
8. Ibid., IX, 66.
9. Ibid., IX. 67.
10. Ibid., IX. 68.
11. Ibid., IX. 83.

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King is stated to be defender of social order (parirakshati varṇa saṁsthitiṁ)[1] with his devotion to Brāhmaṇas (dvija-vatsalatā).[2] Similarly he stood as a saviour of cow (go-rakshaṇa).[3] In short king's mind was devoted to the prosperity and the well-being of his subjects (prājya prajābhyudaya vardhana datta chitte).[4] He had to defend the entire earth by destroying the valiant and wicked mlechchhas, who threatened it, by his own prowess :

येनदुष्टदमनेन सर्वदः साधिताखिल मही सुबाहुभिः ।

Harsha Stone Ins. of Vigrahāraja II, line 19.

Pṛithivīrāja III, the most valuable treasure of the four varṇas, sanctified the whole earth by destroying the Mlechchhas, thus, fully justifying the title of kingship :

पृथिवीं पवित्रतां नेतुं राजशब्दं कृतार्थताम् ।
चतुर्वर्णधनंनाम पृथ्वीराज इति व्यधात् ।। P.V.,VIII. 30.
पूर्णैः पूण्यैस्तमुत्सङ्गे कृत्वा कारणमानुषम् ।
पूर्णपुण्याभवद्धात्री पवित्रत्वमवाप च ।। Ibid., VIII. 31.

**Imperialism**

Hence rightly Pṛithivīrāja III was styled Bhārateśvara (P.V., XI.8). It represents the imperial status of Pṛithivīrāja III. Hindu imperilism was reflected by the possession of Sapta-ratna (Ratna-saptakaṁ, P. V., II. 66). Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya upholds chakravartitā (PV., II.41) based on the status of paramountcy (sakalabhūmibhṛitāṁ, PV., III.27; or sakaladigjaya, PV., III.23), and bhū-sattā (PV., V.105) which led to his Prabhutā (PV., XII.32) or Parameśvaratā (PV. IV.56).

**Ministry**

A king is ruined by an evil counsel (daurmaṁtryān nṛipatir vinaśyati.[5] Duryodhana met his doom due to his wicked and vicious minister, while Chandra Gupta Maurya was placed on the throne as a paramount severeign by a single, but an able, minister named Chāṇakya.[6] Pṛithivīrāja

1. Ibid., XII. 20.
2. Ibid., IX. 73.
3. Ibid., VI. 109.
4. Ibid., IX. 85
5. Bhartṛihari Nītiśataka, 35.
6. Yaśastilaka, III. 243.

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Vijiaya also refers to the importance of counsel (maṅtra mahimatvaṁ).[1]

Though the number of ministers was not fixed, yet there were many ministers (mantriṇaḥ) under the government of Pṛithivīrāja III.[2]

Ministers were highly learned persons possessing proficiency in politics (naya) based on shāḍguṇya, the six expedients of royal policy as well as the four upāyas viz. Sāma, Dāma, Daṇḍa, and Bheda.

Kadambavāsa, equated to Śukra and Bṛihaspati (Guru), was the exalted minister of Pṛithivirāja III, defending the virtues of his sovereign by checking him from the path of vices.[3] Kadambavāsa, the chief minister of Pṛithivirāja, gave protection to every quarter like Hanumāna and exerted strenuously to enhance the glory of his sovereign.[4] There are references to maṅtriṇas,[5] sachivas,[6] and mahāmātyas.[7] Mahāmātya definitely denotes a higher rank. But we can not ascertain the relation, which existed between maṅtriṇa and sachiva. The ability of Kadambavāsa was exhibited in Sabhā as is evident from the epithet Sabhā-Vyāsa given to him [8] He exerted great influence upon the king and his policies. The astute minister checked his sovereign from taking any hasty action.[9] Such was the importance of a minister on whose ability depended the victory or success of a king (mantramūlo vijayaḥ).[10]

**Kośa**

One of the seven constituents of state, Kośa represents the royal treasury, revenue as well as the entire financial system of a state. The acquisition of wealth is stated to be

1. P. V., IX. 41.
2. Ibid., XI. 24.
3. Ibid , IX. 36—37.
4. Ibid., IX. 38.
5. Ibid., XI. 24.
6. Ibid., IX. 36, 44.
7. Ibid., VIII. 58.
8. Ibid., XI. 3.
9. Ibid., XI. 4.
10. Bārhaspatya Sūtra, IV. 27.

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very difficult (asādhyaṁ Kośatā[1]). Kośādhipati[2] (head of the treasury) and Kośādhyaksha[3] (Superintendent of treasury), the two state-officials were associated with treasury as the custodian of national wealth, Kośa-nidhi,(P.V.,VIII.26).

**Army (Sainyaṁ)**

Army,[4] another important limb of a state, was variously styled senā (P.V., VI.14), pṛitanā (P.V., VI. 3), vāhinī (P.V. IV. 68), and Pārthiva sainya i. e. royal army[5] (P. V., VI. 13, 15). Army-organisation and warfare played an important part in the life of a state. In the age of Pṛithivīrāja III, military science (Astra vidyā[6] and Yuddha-tatva)[7] was an important subject of study. Similarly Turaṁga-vidyā (P. V., II. 34) and archery (P. V., IX. 62) were also very popular subjects of training.

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya refers to Shaḍaṁga-bala[8] i. e. army with its six wings viz., Karabha-bala[9] (camels), haya-saṁgha[10] (cavalary), ratha-chakra[11] (chariots), diggaja[12] (elephants),Vṛish-yūtha[13] (bullocks), padāti[14] (infantry). Ushṭra-chamū (P. V., II. 74) and Vṛisha are two new additions to the traditional four limbs (chaturaṁga) of the army. Agni Purāṇa (CCXLII. 1) also refers to Shaḍaṁginī senā. In a later period of Indian history, during the reign of Aurangzeb, bullocks were employed in great military enterprise, which yielded good dividends.[15] "The sandy nature

1. P. V., VIII. 26.
2. Ibid., II. 62.
3. Ibid., VIII. 26.
4. Ibid., IV. 69; XI-13.
5. Ibid., X. 31 nṛipa-sainya.
6. Ibid , XII. 10.
7. Ibid , X. 30.
8. Ibid., VII. 10.
9. Ibid., X. 12.
10. Ibid., II. 77; III. 3; IV. 75, 77, 80; X. 12.
11. Ibid., X. 19.
12. Ibid., X. 24, 26, 27.
13. Ibid., X. 13.
14. Ibid., 14.
15. Rajāvilāsa IX. 100;

(Contd. on p. 170)

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of the country favoured camels as animals of transport. The Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya mentions them also as carrying Chauhan colours in the march against Guḍapura. The Pratihāras of Kanauj from whom the Chauhāns inherited the usage are known to have had a camel corps in their army. But as regards the system of fighting from their backs, it was an innovation due to Persians and Durrāṅis in the 18th century".[1] But Bhāgavata Purāṇa also refers to camels employed in warfare.[2] Bow (dhanu)[3] and sword (kṛipāṇa[4] or khaḍga)[5] were popular weapons of war. Senāpati,[6] (commander in-chief) and Hayapati (commander of the cavalry)[7] were two important military leaders. Senāpati was well-versed in the vidhis (practices) of śastra and astra (P. V., II. 64).

Rājapūta warfare had unique halo of chivalry around the person of a kshatriya, whose flight from the battlefield was deemed to be a sin and he was afraid of apavāda[8], public censure; for fighting was his sva-dharma.

**Vīra-dharma**

As such Vīra-dharma (P. V., X. 32) was held high in Rājapūta politics. Vīra or Śūra is defined to be defender of his own country (sva-deśa). In this connection, we quote from Yogavasishṭha, a famous medievel text :

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*(Contd. from p. 169)*

अद्ध रयनि तम अधिक, छलन रिपु इक्क कियौ छल ।
संड पंच सय शृंग, जोइ युग-युग हलाल झल ।।
हँकिय सोवर हेट, उभय चर अरि दल अभिमुख ।
.....

1. E. Ch. D., p. 214.
2. Bhāgavata P., VIII. 10.9 :
   उष्ट्रैः केचिदिभैः केचिदपरे युयुधः खरैः ।।
3. P. V., IV. 68, 70, 71, 74 etc.
4. Ibid., VI. 110.
5. Ibid., IX. 61.
6. Ibid., II. 64.
7. Ibid., X. 39; XI. 13,
8. Ibid., X. 33,

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भगवञ्छूरशब्देन कीदृशः प्रोच्यते भटः ।
स्वर्गालंकरणं कः स्यात् को वा डिम्भाहवो भवेत् ।।

Y. V., III. 31.23.

the question is answered :—

परिपाल्यस्वदेशैक पालने यः स्थितः सदा ।
राजा मृतास्तदर्थं ये ते वीरा वीरलोकिनः ।।

Ibid., III. 31.29

i.e. "परिपाल्यस्यावश्यं परिपालनार्हस्य स्वदेशस्य
एक पालने मुख्य वृत्त्या रक्षणे स्थितः उद्युक्तः ।"

Vīra always stands stuck to the post of defending his own country—worthy of protection. Those who die there fighting for the country attain heaven. Pṛithivīrāja Rāso has numerous such references to the attainment of Vīragati. Chanda maintains the same high ideals and aims of the life of a Sūra (Śūra) :

निर्मो सु सूर संग्राम भर, अरि अलंघि खंडै सुखल ।
सम धरै जग्य कारण सु कलि, विमल सिस्ट सुम्भै सकल ।।

आदि कथा ३१

Śūra's most sacred duty was dushṭa-davanaṁ[1] or dushṭadamanaṁ[2] and thereby to restore the sanctity of the country :

पवित्रिता वीररसेन धात्री, मुहूर्तमात्रं नृपसैनिकानां ।
चाण्डालकी लालमलीमसे तु चिरस्य वीभत्सरसे ममज्ज ।।

P. V., VI. 13

Hence Vīra-dharma was held very dear (dayitaṁ Vīra-dharmaṁ)[3] and death in the battlefield led to the attainment of heavenly bliss. It is the old philosophy of Gītā,[4] which stimulated entire Rājapūta polity. Kṛishṇa styles it righteous war (dharmyaṁ saṁgrāmaṁ).[5] It is the same as kshatra-vrata or kshatra-dharma of Smṛitis and Purāṇas.

1. Pṛithivīrāja Rāso, Ādi Kathā 1.
2. Harsha Inscription of Vigraharāja, Verse 22.
3. P. V., X. 32.
4. Gītā, II. 31-32.
5. Ibid., II. 33.

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**Fort**

The importance of fort for the safety was very great.[1] The foundation of such fortified cities like Ajmer (Ajayameru)[2] and others points to the importance of new fortifications. Jayānaka refers to Guḍapura-durga[3] (Gurgaon) and Naḍval, the Gurjara-durga.[4] Chāhamāna Rājadhānī was also fortified so as to protect the pious people from the destruction by the Rākshaas.

**Mitra**

The discussion of mitrāmitra based on time and space is the most characteristic feature of medieval Hindu politics. Prithivīrāja Vijaya refers to three-fold allies (mitra-tritaya) viz. mitra, (ally), mitra-mitra (friend of the ally) and adhimitra (friend of ally's friend), whose alliance was to be secured to one's own side. On the other hand there is a reference to three-fold enemies (amitra-traya) viz., enemy, enemy's friend, and friend of enemy's friend, who were to be conquered by all means (saṁgṛihya mitratritayaṁ nigṛihyā mitratritayaṁ chojjvalita prayatnāḥ).[5] Thus by following the policy of ancient statecraft supported by Upāyas and Śaktīs, king could succeed in getting his hold over the twelve states.[6] Kauṭilya explains:

"The conqueror, his friend and his friend's friend are the three primary kings constituting a circle of states. As each of these three kings possess the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury and the army, a circle of states consists of eighteen elements. Thus it needs no commentary to understand that the (three) circles of states having the enemy (of the conqueror), the Madhyama king, or the neutral king at the centre of each of the circles, are different from that of the conqueror.

1. P. V., IV. 58.
2. Ibid., V. 192.
3. Ibid., X. 30-31.
4. Ibid., X. 50.
5. Ibid., I. 61.
6. Ibid., I. 67-68.

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Thus there are four primary circles of states, twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty and seventy two elements of states. Each of the twelve primary kings shall have their elements of sovereignty, power, and end. Strength is power and happiness is the end".[1]

**Śaktis**

Kauṭilya further adds that, "Strength is of three kinds: Power of deliberation is intellectual strength; the possession of a prosperous treasury and a strong army is the strength of sovereignty; and martial power is physical strength".[2]

Three Śaktis[3] i. e. the three factors of power are the strength of prowess (utsāha-śakti), the strength of material resources (Prabhāva-śakti) and the strength of counsel (Maṅtra-śakti). Rājalakshmī embraces one, gifted with these three Śaktis,[4] which, according to Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, "are explained respectively to mean the strength of knowledge, that of the revenue and army and that of prowess".[5]

**Siddhis**

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya adds to these three powers', the three siddhis. "The three successes (Siddhis) are those achieved severally by the above means".[6] Kauṭilya explains: "The end is also of three kinds, that which is attainable by deliberation is the end of deliberation, that which is attainable by the strength of sovereignty is the end of sovereignty; and that which is to be secured by perseverance is the end of martial power".[7] Our text also refers to these three siddhis as prajñā, bala and utsāha,[8] the combination of which was believed to be effective.

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1. R. Shamsastri, K. A. S. (Eng. Tr. 1950), p. 291.
2. K. A. S., p. 291.
3. P. V., I. 67; V. 21; V. 84.
4. Ibid., X. 29.
5. A History of Indian Political Ideas (Calcutta 1959) p. 148.
6. Ibid., p. 138.
7. K. A. S., p. 291.
8. P. V., V. 104.

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**Upāyas**[1]

Nīti, based on Śaktis and Siddhis, was also supplemented and supported by upāyas and 'guṇas' for the all-sided prosperity (udaya) of the State.[2] These are four viz., Sāma (conciliation or negotiation), Dāma (bribery), Daṇḍa (armed action, attack or punishment) and Bheda (dissension). According to our text a minister, well-versed in these expedients,[3] could bring sovereignty even to a minor[4] king.

**Shād-guṇya**

As it has been stated above 'guṇas' occupied an important place in the medieval Hindu thought. These guṇas or expedients to be employed by a king in foreign policy are also mentioned to be six viz., Saṁdhi (peace or alliance), vigraha (war), yāna (march or expedition), sthāna or āsana (halt), saṁśraya (shelter) and dvaidha or dvaidhībhāva (duplicity).[5] A king was proficient in 'shaḍguṇa' in addition to his knowledge of upāyas etc.[6] A minister was also required to be proficient in shāḍguṇya.[7] According to Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, minister, like Kadambavāsa watched and protected the merits (sadguṇas)[8] of a king. But the commentator, Jonarāja holds that the minister kept a close watch over the six fold policy of the king.[8]

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1. P. V., V. 24.
2. Ibid., V. 104.
3. Ibid., IX. 44 :
   सचिवेन तेन सकलासु युक्तिषु, प्रवणेन तेन तत्किमपिकर्म निर्ममे ।
   मुखपुष्करं शिशुतमस्ययत्प्रभोः परिचुम्ब्यतेस्म नवयौवनश्रिया ।।
4. Ibid., V. 21.
5. Manu. VII. 160 :
   सन्धिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च ।
   द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणांश्चिन्तयेत्सदा ।।
6. P. V., V. 24.
7. Ibid., VI. 44.
8. Ibid., IX. 37 :
   परिरक्षितुं क्षितिधरस्य सद्गुणान् ।।
9. Ibid., p. 223 :
   राज्ञष्षडगुणान्रक्षितुं मन्त्रित्वं धारयति····· ।
   Commentary to the Verse, IX. 37 of PV.

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Thus it is apparent that Hindu medieval thought laid great stress on Rāja-vṛitta (king's conduct), Rāja-dharma (king's duties) and Rājanaya (diplomacy), based on *Upāyas*, *Śaktis* and *Siddhis*. A fundamental change is to be found in the policy and treatment of the enemies, who were to destroyed completely without showing any mercy or liberality towards them:—

हत्वा शत्रून्नशेषयेत्.....मृदुःस्यान्नापकारिषु ।

Skanda P., VII. ii. 17. 93.

Even, weak and insignificant, enemy is not to be disregarded :

नोपेक्षितव्यो दुर्बुद्धिः शत्रुरल्पोऽप्यवज्ञया ।
वह्निरल्पोऽप्यसंग्राह्यः कुरुतेभस्मसाज्जगत ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 72.

"He, who rests confident after having made a reconciliation with his enemy, is sure to fall one day like a man, who peacefully reposes on a tree-top",

वैरिणा सह सन्धाय विश्वस्तो यदि तिष्ठति ।
स वृक्षाग्रे प्रसुप्तो हि पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 48.

Cnanda Bardāi asserts :

जन्त जीव जग्गै न, तंत क्रम्म सिद्धि न होई ।

Pr. Rāso Bhima Baṁdha, 29.

Prithvīrāja III was taken unaware embossed in sloth and sensuous slumber. Moreover, "the only defect of a pardoning spirit is that its toleration is often mistaken for its weakness or incapability" :

एकः क्षमावतां दोषो द्वितीयो नोपपद्यते ।
यदेन क्षमया युक्तमशक्तं मन्यते जनः ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 62.

Pṛithivīrāja III, followed the policy of Grahṇa-moksha

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(Gahana-mokha)[1] i.e. capturing and then liberating the lord of Gajjana i.e. Shahabuddīn Ghorī :

मुक्तय बंधि गज्जन वयं

Pr. Raso, Ādikathā. 52.

He had attained great celebrity for this policy of *gahaṇa-mokshaṇa* which he followed towards the Sultāna—

सुरतान पान मोखन गहन··· ।

पृ० रासो, हांसी द्वितीय युद्ध ।

It was rhe greatest blunder which Prithivīraja III committed to bring national calamity in the country.

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1. Pr. Rāso, Hāṁsi II Yuddha, 46.
Samudra Gupta also followed this policy in the course of his Deccan conquest.

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## Chapter XIV

# COLLAPSE OF ANCIENT INDIA—ITS CAUSES

"The astounding rapidity of the Turkish conquest constitutes an important problem for the students of Indian history. It is puzzling, nay almost baffling, to explain the almost complete collapse of Northern India, within an incredibly short time, before the onslaught of invaders whose power and resources were hardly equal to those of some of the bigger Hindu states, not to speak of a combination of them. It is natural that men should seek to solve the mystery and find out the real causes that lay behind the great political catastrophe that overwhelmed India. History would appear to be meaningless if facts of such outstanding importance cannot be viewed in their true perspective against a proper back ground. It is no wonder, therefore, that various speculations have been made and diverse solutions offered to the problem".[1] Dr. Majumdar adds:—

"Certain general considerations must, however, be borne in mind, while we approach the question in a critical spirit. To begin with, we are not sure of the essential facts on which all theories must necessarily be based. The history of the Muslim conquest of India is known, almost in its entirety, from the chronicles written by the Muslims. Apart from a few incidental notices or brief allusions, the Hindu sources are silent on this great episode. But "the picture of a victor, as painted by himself alone, can hardly be regarded as a reliable representation, or even an approximation to truth. The general outline may indeed be fairly correct, but it is impossible to accept, without question, those numerous details which colour the narrative and necessarily form the principal materials for our judgement."

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1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Struggle For Empire, p. 125.

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"This is well illustrated by the current story about the conquests of Muhammed Bakhatyar.....On the face of it, it appears incredible that Lakshmaṇasena should not have taken adequate steps to defend his frontier against a probable, one might say a known danger, or that his guards should have admitted, without question, the Turkish horsemen inside the capital city at a time when an invasion was apprehended at any moment. The extreme improbability of the situation almost necessarily implies that we have not the full story before us, and that if the defenders' version were known, much that appears incredible today would have appeared in a different light and we have taken a more rational view of the whole situation".

Dr. Majumdar continues :—"So long, at least, as the main facts are not definitely established, it is idle to speculate on the causes that led to the debacle of the Hindus. It is equally unwarranted to attribute it solely to the social and religious peculiarities of the Hindus, for our ideas about them are also vague and indistinct, and based on no sure knowledge of facts. It is true that we have a mass of literature and other data on this subject, but it is difficult to explain their bearing on the social evolution in different parts of India at different periods of time".

"We have thus to grapple with great difficulty caused by the uncertainty in regard to facts—political, social and religious—which must form the essential data in any endeavour to probe the deeper cause underlying the broad fact of the Turkish conquest of India. This should make us pause in our laudable attempt towards a philosophical interpretation of historical facts, and turn our attention to the serious defects underlying all suggested solutions of the very interesting problem. In any case, we must moderate our zeal and fully realise that while it is incumbent on us to discuss the problem, any solution that we may offer at the present state of our knowledge cannot claim any scientific basis, far less, finality in character".[1]

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1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "The Struggle For Empire" (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana Bombay, 1957), pp. 125-126.

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Thus after a rational view of the general observations expressed by other scholars regarding the collapse of Hindu power, Dr. R. C. Majumdar asserts : "Subject to these natural limitations we may refer to some of the causes of the downfall of the Hindus that appear probable in the light of the available data. The foremost among these seem to be the iniquitous system of caste and the absence of contact with the outside world. The first resulted in a fragmentation of Indian society into mutually exclusive classes, among whom the privileged minority preserved their vested interests by depriving the masses of many civic rights, specially of education and of free intercourse and association on equal terms with their fellowmen, and further, by imposing on them the most irritating disabilities on the one hand, and a tremendous weight of innumerable duties and obligations towards the privileged classes on the other. And this evil led to another. It bred among the leaders of the Indian people a vain pride in isolationism and insularity and that attitude of arrogance which has been noticed by Al-Bīrūnī .....This spirit of exclusive superiority was created and maintained by a process of intellectual fraud, inasmuch as almost the entire literature of the period was utilised for this purpose and the masses were asked to follow it blindly in the name of the Holy Writ, to question whose authority was an unpardonable sin. It became thus a part of the Hindu dharma not to cross the seas or even the territorial limits of certain hallowed areas! This insularity contributed largely to the supineness of the Indian chiefs, and their utter lack of appreciation of the higher values of patriotism and national freedom in the context of India as a whole, apart from the narrow geographical regions in which they lived. Consequently they were unable to comprehend the far reaching importance of, and the proper measures for, frontier defence, in view of the great political changes and evolution in military tactics which were taking place in the world outside".

"The degraded level to which the majority were pushed down made them indifferent to country-wide dangers and

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"kindred problems. This alone made possible the woeful situation that while the invaders swept across the country, the masses mostly remained inert. The people of the land, with a few exceptions, were indifferent to what was happening around them. Their voice had been hushed in silence by a religio-social tyranny. No public upheaval greets the foreigners, nor are any organised efforts made to stop their progress. Like a paralysed body, the Indian people helplessly look on, while the conqueror marches on their corpse. They look staggered, for a moment, only to sink back into a pitiable acquiescence to the inevitable to which they have been taught to submit".

"Then again, the false ideals of Kshatriya chivalry, taught them by their mentors, made the Rajput princes paralyse one another by perpetual internecine conflicts, and what was more fatal, made them oblivious of a broad national vision and patriotic sentiment".

"This alone can explain why or how, at a time when the country was threatened with grave peril, the rulers of the land devoted the best part of their energies in mutual fighting. The enormous wealth of the country was spent in building and enriching the temples which they proved unable to protect, whereas the most appropriate use for these resources should have been to organise a common defence against the invaders, backed by a national effort. On the contrary it was the very fabulous wealth of these defenceless temples and sacred towns which invited the foreigners and contributed greatly to the consequent disaster".[1]

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal also discusses the problem at length (Chap. XVII of his book—"Studies in Indian History and Culture", Calcutta 1957). He says :—"The conquest of the principal kingdoms of Northern India by the Muslim Turks leading to their incorporation in the Sultanate of Delhi during the closing years of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century A. D. and the overthrow of all the powerful

1. Struggle For the Empire, pp. 126-128.

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"dynasties of Southern India by the same mighty power almost a century afterwards constitute..... ....the true dividing line between the Ancient and the Medieval periods of our history, as they signify one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of our ancient culture. It is therefore, no wonder that the causes of this impressive phenomenon have engaged the attention of thoughtful Indians for some time past. The discussion was started over half a century ago by a distinguished Indian administrator, author and historian, the late Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt of the Indian Civil Service. In the concluding Chapter (Book V, Chap. XV) of his work 'A History of Civilisation of Ancient India' (Calcutta, 1890) the author begins by quoting with approval Alberuni's famous statement charging Hindus of his time in contrast with their predecessors with intellectual narrowness and arrogant self-conceit born of their neglect of foreign travel. This forms the prelude to the author's sombre picture of the political, social, and religious condition of Northern India during the period of three or four centuries preceding the Muslim conquest. The main counts of his indictment are that India was then in the last stage of her political decline (because of her being parcelled out among warring petty kings and chiefs), that there was a gradual degeneracy of the people accompanied with the growing power of the priests (indicated by the degradation of the Vaiśyas to the level of Śūdras and the subsequent formulation of the bold myth that all who were not Brāhmaṇas were Śūdras), that even in the sphere of manners (as is proved by Alberuni's pointed reference to the pitiable lot of widows). Hinduism was in the last stage of degeneracy, and that in contrast with the educated few who had the monopoly of the noble Upanishad faith in the unity of God, the common people were treated with idols and temples as well as unmeaning rites performed by the Brāhmaṇas To the above the author adds after Alberuni that the Hindu astronomers seriously reproduced silly conceptions and ancient myths along with their advanced theories and that Hindu medical science was mixed up with much

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"superstition and was the monopoly of a few. Concluding his damning estimate with a striking historical parallel, the author observes that India in the tenth and eleventh centuries represented the Middle Ages of Europe with one essential difference. This lay in the fact that while the feudal Barons of Europe ultimately mixed with the people and thus infused a new and vigorous life into the modern nations, the Indian caste-system prevented such a fusion and the isolated Kshatriyas fell a swift prey to the foreign invaders".

"The problem of the causes of the headlong downfall of the Indian powers in the closing years of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries has been discussed afresh by some Indian scholars in very recent times. In Chapter XII of his thoughtful work 'A Survey of Indian History' (1947), which bears the title 'India on the eve of Muslim Contact', Sardar K. M. Panikkar gives a short but comprehensive survey of the condition of the country during the period preceding the Turkish conquest. Because of their complete immunity from foreign invasions for more than five hundred years before the time of Mahmud of Ghazni (a period of isolation unexampled in the history of world), we read, the people lost their sense of patriotism and national honour, while they were killed (as is shown by Alberuni's statement quoted above) with consuming arrogance about their superiority to other nations. The same cause led to the weakening of the springs of national greatness, namely rigid discipline, joint endeavour for upholding the cultural values and subordination of material interests to the public welfare. Tracing the resulting decadence of India's civilization in different spheres of life, the author observes that the originally academic ideas of the four castes as well as food and drink taboos were now accepted as divine regulations and enforced with surprising rigidity, that the style of artificial poetry (kāvya) degenerated into the display of extravagant conceits and artificial constructions as well as long and sensuous descriptions of debaucheries, that architecture and sculpture betrayed the same degeneration of

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taste, that 'left hand' (Vāmamārga) religious practices took up deep root and infected even the advanced seats of learning, that the monasteries became the centres of luxury, idleness and vice. The general loosening of the moral code, the author continues, is testified to by the development of the devadāsī system (meaning the custom of temple prostitution), the composition of works on the lives of prostitutes by men of the highest social position and of known purity of life, as well as the obscene Tāntrik literature and temple sculptures of the time. The crystallisation of the social life is indicated by the strict enforcement of the rigours of widowhood in high-class families. To the above the author adds that great disparity of wealth existed between the mercantile classes and the ordinary villagers, that a regular bureaucracy constituted the structure of Indian government and that Indian kingdoms were organised on a semi-military basis with large, though inefficient armies. While the Hindu social structure, the author sums at the end not without some degree of inconsistency, had undergone a reorganisation which made it capable of resisting external pressure and the Hindu religion had received a vigorous impetus with forms and beliefs satisfying the masses and the intellectuals, while economic life was prosperous with accumulated wealth derived from five centuries of peace, the political structure was based on a corrupt bureaucracy and was weakened by the complete absence of patriotism and the idea of united resistance against the foreigner. A less complete analysis of the causes of collapse of the Ancient Indian political civilization has been presented by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his work Ancient India (Banaras 1952). In his penultimate Chapter (Chap. XXI) significantly called 'Degradation of Hindu Society', the author attributes the narrow exclusiveness of the Hindu people in contrast with the catholicity of their predecessors (as testified to by Alberuni in the extract above cited) to two factors. These are the rigidity of the caste-system following the Brāhmnical revival and the degradation of the position of women. In so far as the first factor is concerned, the Brāhmaṇas, we read,

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"succeeded in establishing not without a hard and continuous struggle and in the teeth of opposition of the kshatriyas, the essential features of the caste system comprising the ascendancy of their own order, the determination of caste by birth and the prohibition of inter-marriage and inter-dining among the castes, these features having no sanction in their ancient scriptures. Thereafter Brāhmaṇas consolidated their position by introducing in utter violation of the letter and spirit of the ancient scriptures the new elements comprehending the doctrine of impurity of the Śūdra's food and touch and the restriction of the numbers of kshatriyas and vaiśyas till they practically vanished from the Indian society and their descendants sank to the level of Śūdras. In this process of their self-aggrandisement the Brāhmaṇas were helped by the fact that the Rājapūts who were descendants of the foreign Hūṇas and Gurjaras as well as the aboriginal tribes, after being raised to the rank of kshatriyas, had to look up to them for their social prestige and status. Among the other evils of the caste system the author enumerates firstly the degeneration of the artisans and craftsmen; secondly the perpetuation of class interests preventing the development of a truely national sentiment; and thirdly, the rise of a spirit of haughty exclusiveness which had the effect of closing the Hindu mind to the progress of science and specially of military science among other Asiatic nations. These statements are supported by quotation of a long extract from the work of Mr. R. C. Dutt, above mentioned, as well as by reference to striking parallel drawn by the same author between Ancient Indian and Medieval European History. Turning to the second factor Dr. Majumdar seeks somewhat inconclusively to prove degraded position of women just before the Turkish conquest by a number of quotations from the Manu-Smṛiti, a work belonging (as is well known) to the first two centuries before and after Christ. It remains to mention that the author in Chapter XIV mentions as a distinctive feature of the public administration of the post—Gupta period the tendency towards the weakening of popular control and the establishment of an unchecked bureaucracy or autocracy in its place."

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"A much fuller discussion of the causes of downfall of the Ancient Indian kingdoms at the hands of the Turkish invaders, repeating some of the reflections of Sardar K. M. Panikkar quoted above, is that of Dr. A. L. Srivastava in his 'Sultanate of Delhi' (2nd Ed., 1953). In the chapter of his work bearing the title "Our country on the eve of the Arab Invasion on Sindh", the author sums up his brief historical survey by stating that although the condition of the people was good in other respects, the main drawback was the lack of political unity and the patriotic sense. In Chapter III entitled "India on the eve of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion" we are told that the Indian kings were weakened by the decline of the paramount powers the Pratihāras and the Pālas in the North and mutual conflict between the later Chālukyas and the Cholas in the South, while the three centuries of immunity from foreign invasions since Arab conquest of Sindh led the Indian rulers to neglect their armies and their frontier defence. For the reason last mentioned the Indian people lost touch with the new systems of warfare, and while completely their sense of patriotism and national ordour, they imbibed the belief (testified to by Alberuni) that they were a chosen people who could not associate with others. The decadence of India's civilization following from her complete isolation during the same period, the author continues, is proved firstly by degradation of literature and the fine arts; secondly by the rigidity of the caste rules (as illustrated by enforcement of the rigours of widowhood and of food and drink taboos); thirdly, by the degradation of religion (testified to by the popularity of vāmamārga and its evil influence even upon the advanced centres of learning; fourthly and lastly, by the moral degradation of the upper and middle classes (as is witnessed by the extension of the Devadāsī system, the development of the Tāṅtric literature and composition of works on the lives of prostitutes by the greatest scholars of the time). Though the country was economically rich and generally prosperous, the author concludes, there was a great dis-

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"parity of wealth between the ruling families, the nobles and the merchant princes on the one hand and the village folk on the other. Again in Chapter VI of his work called "Muhammad of Ghur" the author distinguishes between the general and the special causes of the Indian defect at the hands of the Sultans, Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghur. Under the first head he mentions the lack of political unity and capable leadership among the Indians and their outworn military system as well as the lack of co-operation between the masses and their leaders, while by contrast he speaks of the use of the shock tactics by both the Sultans which paralysed the Indian resistance as well as the tremendous religious and military enthusiasm of the Turks, we read, the Indians neglected to find out the enemy's strength and the geography of the country before hand, and further to ravage the enemy's lands for cutting of his supplies : their armies unlike those of Turks were wanting in the two divisions of the advanced guards and the reserve in contrast with the Turkish favourite weapon of the bow and the arrow the Indians were equipped with the sword, while unlike the mobile Turkish cavalry their strength lay in elephants. Repeating in part the above arguments in the last Chapter (Chapter XIX) bearing the title "The Sultanate in retrospect", the author observes that the factors enabling the invaders rapidly to overrun Hindustan were firstly impossibility of effective combination against the foreigner because of parcelling out of the country into numerous independent states; secondly the political apathy of the masses and their lack of patriotism, thirdly and above all, the use of shock-tactics by the Two 'Sultans'. Dr. Ghoshal observes that, "It will appear from a consideration of the views set forth above that they present in their totality an admirably comprehensive survey of the condition of the country facilitating its conquest by the Turkish invaders. As these views appear nevertheless on closer inspection to be imperfect in some respects and misleading on other points, we propose to discuss the whole question somewhat fully under a number of different heads".[1]

1. Studies in Indian History & Culture, pp. 505-507.

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**"1. Political Factor**

The view that India on the eve of the Muslim conquest was parcelled out among petty kings and chief justifying the further statement that she was then in the last stage of her political decline is beyond doubt a gross historical exaggeration.....It is true that throughout this last period of independence of the Ancient Indian dynasties there was no single state of the size of the Empire of the Mauryas. Nevertheless the distinctive feature of the Indian political situation of the time was not the parcelling out of the country among petty kings and chiefs but its division into a relatively limited number of large territorial states with several centuries of existence to their credit. With this, we may mention that old imperial ideal was still such a living force as to prompt the leading Indian rulers frequently to make a bold bid for empire in the traditional fashion. The political history of the period, accordingly, is one of the almost uneasing struggle between a few powerful states for supremacy which doubtless had the result of frittering away the economic and military resources of the country at the time of its sorest peril and what is more, of creating an atmosphere of mutual distrust among the contending states which prevented the effective combination against the common foe.....even the divisions of the Indian princes by prolonging their resistance and weakening the invader's strength helped to show down the progress of Islam in India. On the other hand the facts of history bear out in substance the charge of lack of capable leadership among the Indians. It is indeed remarkable that even the crisis of the series of foreign invasions failed to produce a single leader of sufficiently commanding political and military talents to unite the Indians of his time—as Chandra Gupta Maurya had united long before the people of Indus valley against the Macedonian garrision left behind by Alexander, for the overthrow of the foreign enemy. In the pussillanimous submission of Rājyapāla, the last Pratihāra king of Kanauj to Mahmud of Ghazni and the successful raid of

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"Ikhtyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji against the defenceless Buddhist monks of Bihar, we have striking examples of the opportunity which the political vacuum caused by the decay of the old empires from time to time gave to the daring enemy from outside. That the Indian kings nevertheless with all their political and military weakness were capable of beating back the enemy in the open battle-field is proved by the crushing victories won over Sultan Muhammad of Ghur by Bhim II, the king of Gujarat in 1178 as well as by Pṛithvīrāj, the Chauhān ruler of Ajmer and Delhi in 1191. To this, we have to add that in the tenth century the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, according to the admission of the Muslim historians themselves, were strong enough militarily and politically to present a successful barrier against the incursions of the Arab invaders from their base in Sindh. Turning to another statement that because of the centuries of their immunity from foreign attck the Indians utterly lost their patriotic sense and were infected with political apathy, it is inconceivable on a priori grounds that the masses even in the hard school of their experience of the barbarous methods of warfare of the invaders could not be roused from their alleged old time lethargy to a sense of urgent need of self-defence. In truth we may infer from the prolonged resistance offercd even by the petty chiefs in their strongholds and the people in their selected areas that the masses were by no means lacking in the will and the power to resist the enemy even at the risk of his barbarous reprisals. The Indians, indeed, are repeatedly recorded as taking advantage of the weakness of individual Sultans to recover their lost territories, or at least to keep them in constant turmoil so that the more powertul of the foreign rulers had to begin their task of reconquest afresh. Whether in the circumstances of the situations the Indians could be expected to imbibe a common national sentiment or to maintain the springs of national greatness.....may be seriously questioned. As regards the internal structure of the Indian states, it may be stated that... .....there is nothing to show that the evil"

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"was made worse in the centuries immediately preceding the Muslim conquest. On the contrary the occasional hints from our authentic sources, such as the tribute paid by the Muslim historians of the period to the honesty and efficiency of the rulers as well as their officials. What little reliance can be placed upon the confident reference to a general drift towards unchecked bureaucracy or autocracy during the post—Gupta period has been sought te be proved in another place.....The real weakness of the Indian administrations lay in the influence of great feudatory famlies whose power and ambition constituted a perpetual threat to the stability of the central Government....." (Dr. Ghoshal, Studies in Indian History and Culture, pp. 501-510).

As regards military factor Dr. Ghoshal does not accept the view that, "The Indians through the long history of the Turkish conquest of their country were prevented by their inheritance of caste and their legacy of prolonged immunity from foreign attack from learning the lessons of new system of warfare".[1] On the other hand he holds, "In truth it was not for their rules of caste and their geographical aloofness but for their want of leaders with sufficient talents that the Indians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries failed to adapt their time-honoured system of warfare.....to the requirements of the new situation. Incidently it is worth remembering that the alleged isolation of India for the longest period in the history of any country is disproved by the recorded instances of more or less extensive exchanges of visits between the Buddhist monks of India on the one side and those of China and Tibet on the other during the tenth and the eleventh centuries which resulted in translation of large number of Buddhist texts into the sacred literature of those lands. It is, however, correct to state that the shock tactics-the sudden raid-followed by the equally swift victorious return home-which was frequently resorted to by the two great Sultans of the houses of Ghazni and Ghur was one of the main secrets of their success".[2] He adds: ....."While the inferiority of the Indians in strategy, tactics

1. Studies in Indian History & Culture, p. 511.
2. Ibid., p. 511.

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"and military equipment is an admitted fact, their other defects can be fully realised only by a contrast with their adversaries. Thus unlike the armies of the invaders fighting under one undivided command, those of the Indians largely consisted of contingents of the feudatory chiefs fighting under their own leaders. Again, unlike the invaders who derived their will to victory from an unparalled religious enthusiasm, the Indian fighting classes were inclined as a rule to fight more for the exhibition of individual valour and vindication of pesonal honour than for collective success".[1] Further Dr. Ghoshal ascribes the collapse of Hindu power to 'the surprising lack of vigilance', 'Indian treachary to the common cause' and 'lack of the employment of diplomacy'.[2] "As regards the social factor, the views that the Indian social system in its later phase involved the conversion of academic doctrines into realities that it marked the triumph of a cunning and unscrupulous priesthood in the attempt to establish its supremacy in violation of the letter and spirit of the ancient scriptures and in the teeth of the determined opposition of the other classes, are both disproved by the facts of history. In truth, the later social developments with their inevitable tightening of the disabilities of special classes, instead of being the chief cause of India's ruin, helped her (and herein lay their principal historical justification) to salvage much of her ancient cultural heritage from the imminent danger of wreckage by a relentless and determined foe".[3] He does not give credence either to women's disability, or to moral degrdation. He also does not believe in the theory of economic disparity due to want of sufficient information. Dr. Ghoshal concludes "Coming lastly to the literary and artistic factors, we have to mention that the period preceding the Muslim conquest produced a considerable output of literary and scientific works, while it witnessed continuations of the traditional architectural styles and schools of sculpture and painting, thus indicating that old literary and artistic impulses were still living inspirations

1. Studies in Indian History & Culture, pp. 529-530.
2. Ibid., p. 513.
3. Ibid., p. 530.

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through out our land.[1]" Thus Dr. Ghoshal has cleared much of the misty speculations.

Dr. Dashrath Sharma also discusses, in his book entitled 'The Early Chauhān Dynasties' (Delhi 1959, Chapter XX-VII), the causes of the downfall of the early Chauhān kingdoms. Really the fall of the Chauhāns heralded the fall of Ancient India. He observes:

"None who has gone through these pages would regard lack of valour as one of the causes of Chauhān failure. Muslim as well as Hindu historians bear incontestable testimony to the fact that the valiant Chauhān knew well how to die and sell their lives dear. Many a time they fought on, even when there was not the least chance of success, because they considered it disgraceful to surrender or flee.* To them nothing was more meritorious than to die fighting on the battlefield. Nor was the failure of the Chauhāns due to any lack of religious fervour .....And equally difficult it is to agree with the dictum of those who ascribe the fall of the Chauhāns to the lack of generalship among their leaders. Vigraharāja IV and Kīrtipāla were all leaders of note, in no way inferior to their Muslim adversaries, the Yāminīs of Ghazna and Muhammad of Ghor".[2] Dr. Sharma observes: "We have to look elsewhere than the lack of religious fervour, lack of military skill and lack of valour for the downfall of the Chauhāns. Partly, it was due to the caste system, which .....had disastrous effects in the political field. It prevented not only the amount of fusion necessary for the creation of

1. Studies in Indian History and Culture, p. 531.

*Cf.

बलादेव समादत्ते क्षत्रियो बलिनां पुरः।
लोह शृंखलबद्धावान वशं यान्ति कातराः॥
मार्कण्डेय पु० १२१।१३

For—

क्व क्षत्रियकुले जन्म क्व याञ्चा हीन सेविता।
वही, १२१।१२

2. E. Ch. D., pp. 321-322.

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a strong people but also kept away a large number of people from the profession of fighting.....In some measure the downfall must have been due also to luxury and idleness fostered by many years of continued prosperity". Dr. Sharma continues :

"We have to remember also that virtue carried too far turns into vice. The Chauhāns' adherence to Śāstras, when fighting against their own countrymen was perhaps commendable. But it was suicidal in the fight against an alien race which recognised no such rules. Similarly, it was good to be religious, it was bad to be superstitious. A society, which turned Mlechchha victor into Rudra (Kanhda de prabandha II, 131-4) eager to cut the heads of kshatriyas, and ascribed all mishaps to its own past deeds (Ibid. I, 158.174) was bound to suffer". .. .....Equally or even more fatal to their political existence was their failure to evolve a political and military system enough to fight and unite India against invaders".....Results as good as that of a strong centralised state might have been secured also, if the Rājpūts had learnt to cut down the powers of the feudal lords and feudatories, sunk their mutual differences and evolved somehow the idea of a federation".[1]

Thus ends the analysis of Dr. Sharma with the observations, "united we stand, divided we fall". Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya (III. 3) like the other works of the age also upholds the urgency of 'aikātmyaṁ' and the destruction of Paśu-vṛitti (hostility). It was the fury or ferocity of Rudra alone which could be equated to that of the Mlechchhas and it is fully borne out by the study of Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya which repeatedly asserts the tyranny and terror of the Mlechchhas (Mātaṁga-mahābhaya). The cutting of the heads of the kshatriyas by these Raudra-Mlechchhas due to their past deeds has a grain of political admonition given to these kshatriyas for their faults and failings. Samarsī

1. E. Ch. D., pp., 322-326.

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(Samarsiṁha) reads his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity.....".[1]

Dr. R. B. Singh (H. Ch., p. 224-232) holds:—"The Chāhamānas were defeated by the Turks.....not because the latter were more war-like and stronger than the former or had a superior force and better equipments and weapons. We have seen that the Chāhamānas had established their superiority in valour by defeating the Turks in successive engagements and in 1191 A. D. Pṛithvīrāja i flicted a crushing defeat on Shahab-ud-din Ghori.....But inspite this he repeated his invasion only a year after. This clearly indicates that something had gone amiss during the short interval between the two wars and the Sultan felt encouraged to take advantage of the same..... .....The main weakness of India.....lay in the political divisions of the country, and..... .....the Hindu kings..... failed to put up a concerted effort against a common enemy ..... .....This internecine warfare was further responsible for the neglect of the north-western frontier..... .....The race for political supremacy in northern India between Pṛithvīrāja and Jaya Chandra was bound to have far reaching results and the former's victory against the Ghorian Sultan in 1191 A D. helped to accelerate their political rivalry to such an extent that the Gahaḍavāla king probably took to the performance of a Rājasūya Yajña to counterbalance the enhanced prestige of the Chāhamāna sovereign. The climax was, however, reached when Pṛithvīrāja abducted the Gahaḍavāla princess from her marriage paṇḍāl. Thus Pṛithvīrāja's triumphal exit from Kanauj established his political supremacy in the whole of northern India. But this battle cost him the flower of his army and he lost some of his most veteran generals in action" (H. Ch., pp. 225-226). Dr. Singh ascribes the Chāhamāna defeat to a complete lack of foresight and utter disregard of the war strategy on the part of Pṛithvīrāja, and.....his sense of security,..... a false notion of his own power and an underestimate of

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1. Tod-Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthana, 1957, Vol. I, p. 209.

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his enemy's strength,.....a life of ease and comfort..... reliance on the words of his enemy;.....the superior strategy of the Sultan....." (H. Ch., pp. 227-228). Lastly Dr. Singh, too, takes recourse to the evils of social (H. Ch., pp. 229-231), and religious systems (H. Ch., p. 231-232). But Dr. Singh has also failed to discuss the problem in the light of contemporary evidences particularly Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya.

The message transmitted by Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya is not properly recived. So I reiterate that it is not the vagueness or the paucity of information regarding this episode but only because of the fact that most of our receivers do not work correctly. The author of Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya asserts 'Kāma' to be the principal vice. Further he asserts that indulgence with Tilottamā (or other women) in the enjoyment of pleasures could not bring to him the covetted office of paramountcy.[1] Almost all the texts of this age assert 'woman' to be the main factor responsible for the downfall of our political power. Bṛihat-kathākośa asserts that Bhārata Yuddha was fought for the sake of a woman[2], and similarly, it observes, that Rāma-Rāvaṇa war was also fought for the sake of a woman.[3] It adds that many other wars had been fought for the sake of women, who are the root cause of people's trouble.[4] Its author relates a story

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1. P. V., XII. 32 :

क्व ललाम तिलोत्तमा दिवः ।
प्रभूता च क्व मनुष्यमण्डले ।।

2. Bṛihatkathākośa, LXXXIII. 116 :

कुरूणां पाण्डवैः सार्धं तत्र रामा निमित्तकं ।
बभूव भारतयुद्धं बहुसत्त्वक्षयावहम् ।।

3. Ibid., LXXXIV-56 :

राम रावण सम्बन्धं बहु सत्त्व क्षया वहम् ।
स्त्री निमित्तमिदं जातं लोके रामायणं पुनः ।।

4. Ibid., LXXXIV 57 :

अन्यान्यपि च जातानि घोर युद्धानि भूतले ।
नराणां स्त्रीकृते कष्टं मूलं युद्धस्य योषितः ।।

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to support his contention. He tells us that there was in Sāketa a king named Devaratī whose enemies were destroyed. But he was intensely indulged with his chief queen neglecting the other queens and paying no heed to the state affairs. His country was besieged by the enemies but the king still stayed with his chief queen. Seeing such a calamitous state of affairs in the country and king's attachment with the queen at the cost of his state-administration, feudatories, ministers, heads of the State-Departments and Purohita placed his son on the throne.[1] Thus we see that this king lost his throne due to the vyasana[2], of Kāma. The learned author seems to portrary the life of Pṛithvīrāja III in this story. For the Rāso alleges that after the conclusion of his conquests Jaya Chandra prepared to celebrate the Rājsūya Yajña as a mark of universal supremacy, which was to culminate in the svayaṁvara (self-selection of the bride-groom) of his daughter Saṁyogitā. Invitations were sent to all the princes to attend the ceremony, but Pṛithvīrāja Chauhān and Samarasiṁha of Mewār refused to come. Jaya Chandra caused effigies of them to be made of gold and in order to humiliate them placed these representations in a position that indicated low rank. Pṛithvīrāja took the insult to heart; he suddenly attacked Kanauj and carried away the not-unwilling princess, who appears to have cherished love for him. Chanda holds that this friction between Jaya Chandra and Pṛithivīrāja was the cause that led to Sihabuddin Ghori's invasion resulting in the fall of both.[3]

Thus Saṁyogitā was not only responsible for the hostile relations and quarrel beween the two great rulers of Northern India viz., Jaya Chandra and Pṛithivīrāja, but the latter seems to had been passionately and intensely lost in the love of the newly wedded queen at the cost of state and government. This was the main reason for which

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1. Brihatkathā Kośa, LXXXV-1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
2. Ibid., LXXXV-24.
3. Dr. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, 1960, p. 325-326.

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Samar Singh of Mewar his brother-in-law, seems to had delivered an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity.[1] It is for this reason that Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya lays all stress on Kāma and the charming features of Pṛithvīrāja, who looked more attractive to woman than Kāma, himself. This is further supported by Pṛithivīrāja's visit to his chitra-maṇḍapa where the picture of Tilottamā had such an adverse effect on the mind and heart of the Chāhmāna hero, that he forgot himself and his state-duties. The intense attachment of Pṛithivīrāja, with the damsel led the minister Pṛithvībhaṭa to realise his mistake, for it was he who had his patron to his picture-hall. The minister realised that by carrying Pṛithivīrāja to picture-hall, where the two lovers, Pṛithvīrāja and Tilottaṃā, had lost their duality, he had done undoubtedly a great harm; as king's mind was severely wounded by the arrows of Lord Cupid.[2] It is at this stage that the minister exclaims with intense sorrow that a woman was the greatest obstacle in the path of attaining the status of paramountcy.[3] Somadava Sūrī, a great medieval thinker also holds the same view regarding the influence of the feminine contact and charm. He asserts :

तावद्गुरवो गण्यास्तावत्स्वाध्याय धीरतं चेतः ।
यावन्न मनसि वनिता दृष्टि विशं विशति पुरुषाणाम् ।।

Yaśastilaka, I. 76.

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1. Tod. A. A. R., Vol. I. 209.
2. P. V., 29-31 :

अनुबन्धमवेक्ष्य तादृशं क्षितिभर्त्तुस्सुरसुन्दरींप्रति ।
गणयन्नपराधमात्मनोमनसीत्थंपृथिवीभटोम्यधात् ।।
उपमानपदे तिलोत्तमां यदि मन्त्री विदधे श्रियं प्रति ।
अपरीक्ष्य पुनस्तदीदृशं कथमर्थं तदनूदितं मया ।। ३० ।।
इदमीदृगनर्थं संशयं कथमालेख्य गृहं च दर्शितम् ।
अनयन्मदनः शरण्यतां विशतो यत्र महीपते मनः ।। ३१ ।।

3. Ibid., XII. 32 :

क्व ललाम तिलोत्तमा दिवः प्रभुता च क्व मनुष्य मण्डले ।
.....पुरुषस्य नेदृशी, घटनेयं पुरुषोत्तमं विना ।। ३२ ।।

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तावत्प्रवचन विषयस्तावत्परलोक चिन्तनोपायः ।
यावत्तरुणी विभ्रमहृतहृदयो न प्रजायेत् ॥

Ibid., I. 77.

गुरुवचनस्य हि वृत्तिस्तत्र न यत्रास्ति संगमः स्त्रीभिः ।
अबलालापजलप्लवबधिरित कर्णे कुतोऽवसरः ॥

Ibid., I. 78.

संसर्गे गुणा अपि भवन्ति दोषास्तदद्भुतं नैव ।
स्थितमधरे रमणीनाममृतं चेतांसि कलुपयति ॥

Ibid., I. 79.

लटहैर्युवति कटाक्षैंगाढमगुरुतां जनः स्वयं नीतः ।
चित्रमिदं ननु यत्तां पश्यति गुरुबन्धुमित्रेषु ॥

Ibid., I. 80.

Thus we see that this great political thinker also holds woman to be one of the many evils (bahu pratyūha vyūha.....)[1]. He, however, strongly holds that the pleasures of love based on the enchanting eyes or other parts of a female's body enchain a man.[2] Daṇḍī, another eminent thinker refers to such vices as based on the sportive pleasures of love, wine and woman in his work Daśa-Kumāra Charita.

असावपि गुरूपदेशमिवात्यादरेण तस्यमतमन्ववर्तत् । तच्छीलानुसारिण्यश्च प्रकृतयो विश्रृंखलमसेवन्त व्यसनानि सर्वश्च समानदोषतया न कस्यच्छिद्रान्वेषणायायतिष्ट । समान भर्तृप्रकृतयस्तन्त्राध्यक्षा स्वानि कर्मफलान्यभक्षयन् ततः क्रमादाय द्वाराणि व्यशीर्यन्त । व्ययमुखानि विटवैधेयतया विभो रहरहर्व्यवर्धन्त सामन्त पौर जानपदमुख्याश्यच समान शीलतयोपारूढ विश्रम्भेण राज्ञा सजायाः पानगोष्ठीष्वभ्यन्तरी कृताः स्ववं स्वमाचारमत्यचारिषु ।

Daśa Kumāra Charita, Uttarapīṭhikā, VIII. 22.

Such was the degradation of the court life based on the enjoyment of woman that all the sources of strength and stability came to nought. This led to the king's destruction :

तदङ्गनासु चानेकापदेशपूर्वममपाचरन्नरेन्द्रः । तदन्तःपुरेषु चामीभिन्नवृत्तेषु मन्दत्रासः बहुसुखैरर्वतन्त । सर्वश्च कुलांगनाजनः सुलभभंगि भाषणरता

1. Yaśastilaka, after I. 81.
2. Ibid., pp. 56, 57 etc.

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भग्नचारित्रयन्त्रणास्तृणायापि न गणयित्वा भर्तृन्धातृगण मन्त्रणान्यश्रृणोत् । तन्मूलश्च कलहा: सामर्षाणामुद्भवन । अहन्यन्त दुर्बला बलिभि: अपहृतानि धनवतां धनानि तस्करादिभि: । अपहृतपरिभूतय: प्रहृताश्च पातकपथा: हत-बान्धवा हृत वित्ता बधबन्धातुराश्च मुक्तकण्ठमाक्रोशन्नश्रुकण्ठय: प्रजा ।

Ibid., Uttara Pīṭhikā, VIII. 23.

Kathāsaritasāgara, an other work of early medieval India, refers to *strī-vaira* (15/134).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa rightly asserts that woman was the root-cause of mutual jealousy and quarrel, for many people strive for one and the same woman :

सा त्वं न: स्पर्धमानानामेक वस्तुनि मानिनि ।
ज्ञातीनां बद्धवैराणां शं विधत्स्व सुमध्यमे ।।

Bhāgavata P., VIII. 9. 6.

Thus the sovereignty and supremacy of woman (tvdāyattaṁ),[1] which caused conflicts and quarrel (kali)[2] has been styled mahāpratyūha.[3] Prabodha chandrodaya, too, asserts :

संमोहयन्ति मदयन्ति बिडम्बयन्ति निभर्त्सयन्ति रमयन्ति विषादयन्ति ।
एता: प्रविश्य सदयं हृदयं नराणां किं नाम वामनयना न समाचरन्ति ।।

Prabodha Ch, I. 27

It follows Prithvīrāja Vijaya to ascribe our collapse to the vicious effect of kāma (kāma hatakena vañchitaṁ jagata durātmanā)[4] supported by woman (nārīti nāma pradhā-nāstraṁ kāmasya)[5]—an ally of kāma (kāma suhṛido nāryāṁ).[6]

The ancient thinkers and kings knew it well and Ṛishabha warned his sons, before his abdication and retire-ment to forest, that indulgence with women was a source of

1. Rūpashaṭkaṁ, p. 180 verse 5.
2. Ibid., p. 181.
3. Ibid., p. 183.
   Cf. pp. 186.
4. Prabodha Ch., p. 142.
5. Ibid , p. 147.
6. Ibid., IV. 13.

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trouble ; because a man falling in the trap (pramāda) faces the path of vices (Bhāgavata P , V. 5.4 etc). Fate and divine forces help those who remain on the right track of duty, where as the friends and brothers desert one who is off the track :

प्रायः सुकृतिनामर्थे देवा यान्ति सहायताम् ।
अपन्थानं तु गच्छन्तं सोदरोऽपि विमुञ्चति ॥

Prabodha Ch., IV. 8.

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya explicitly explains our national collapse due to the forces of kāma (passionate lust) and woman leading to mutual hostility (anyonya vaira).[1] Pṛithivīrāja Rāso also warned Pṛithivīrāja :

गौरी रत्तौ तुअ धरणि, तूं गौरी रस रत्त ॥

अन्तिम युद्ध ३९

Chanda warned his sovereign of his sensuous slumber with Saṁyogitā at a time, when his own beloved country was threatened by Muhammad Ghorī.

Thus it is tue that woman was the real source of trouble :

स्त्रीनामविषयो निदानेकस्य नापदाम् ।

Kathā. S. S., 15-141.

Māgha's Śiśupālavadha also asserts women to be the main cause of great hostility, as the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa turned Śiśupāla to enemity towards the former :

त्वया विप्रकृतश्चैद्यो रुक्मिणींहरता हरे ।
बद्धमूलस्य मूलं हि महद्वैरतरोः स्त्रियः ॥

Śiśupālavadha, II. 38.

It is for this reason that the consequences of pleasure and love haunting the mind of Pṛithivīrāja by the sight (picture) of Tilottamā left the minister in trouble. He thought, it was a severe mental agony which proved to be

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1. P. V., VII. 25,

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very harmful to the king.[1] Tilottamā thinking this state of king's mind had descended upon earth from heaven.[2] Thus according to Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, too, woman proved to be a source of national calamity.

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Tilottamā definitely standing as an upamān[3] for Śrī (i.e. Saṁyogitā) proved to be one of the main cause for the failure of Pṛithivīrāja III in the second battle of Tarain. Passion (Kāma)[4] was stimulated by the system of polygamy.[5]

Rājataraṁgiṇī (third Rājatariṁgiṇī by Śrīvara Paṇḍita) clearly asserts that this mutual enemity led to the path of destruction (etadanyonya vairotho nāśoyāṁ samupasthitaḥ).[6] Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka refers to death caused by the lustful life associated with women.[7]

According to Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya Buddhism[8] was also one of the causes for the fall of Hindu power in India. Bṛihannāradīya Purāṇa holds that "any Brāhmaṇa who enters the Buddhist monastery even in great distress, can in no way, not even by the hundreds of the religious acts of atonement, be expiated from the sin. For the Buddhists are irreligious due to their condemnation for the Vedas. Hence it is the canonical injunction that a Brāhmaṇa who has faith in the Vedas, should not even see the Buddhists. It again asserts that any Brāhmaṇa who enters a Buddhist monastery knowingly or unknowingly can not be atoned of the sin".[9] Somadeva Sūri also upholds the destructive influence of Buddhism upon the world (i. e. country) :

शाक्यशासन प्रमाणैरिव सकल जगच्छून्यतामानेतुं
प्रवृत्तिसहजैः सामजैः सह चिक्रीड ॥

Yaśastilaka, I. Āśvasa, p. 31 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Edn., 1916).

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1. P. V., III. 32.
2. Ibid., XII. 38.
3. Ibid., XII. 30.
4. Ibid., XII. 20.
5. Ibid., IX. 63, 64, 65; X. 1, etc.
6. III Rājatariṁgiṇī, I. 612.
7. Yaśastilaka., I., p. 68.
8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, V. 5. 16.
9. Bṛihannārdīya P. XIV. 69, 70, 71,

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As regards the Chauhānas' adherence to religion and śāstras, it was the heroic idealism deep rooted in the kshatriyas or Rājapūtas. They thought it a sin to indulge in the false and deceptive tactics. They were true to their ideals,[1] which were dearer to them than their life and home. This true militarism against the treacherous tactics of Turushkas certainly helped in the national collapse.

The fourth argument that 'their failure to evolve a political and military system strong enough to fight and unite India against the invader,' cannot be said to have a grain of truth in the light of the political system of Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya discussed above.

As regards the evolution of federation in the 12th century A. D. it was new to the world, which, too, was based on feudal system. Moreover, evolution of any system cannot be abrupt and sudden. It takes some time. The thinkers of the age were themselves not, unmindful of the federal system which was upheld for the good of country (Skanda P., VI. 27. 24).

As regards the unity-the medieval thinkers knew better and worked better with selfless spirit exhorting kshatriyas to combine. Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, as has been pointed above, itself asserts the importance of aikātmyaṁ or unity.[2] The above discussion clearly shows that some of the general charges levelled against Hindus of those days still stand. The consensus of opinion ascribes this national debacle, as we have seen, to the lack of patriotism and political consciousness. It is entirely baseless and irrelevant.

Dr. Majumdar observes that, "It is the duty of the historian to find out, as far as possible, the true facts on the basis of which alone we can pass a just verdict on the people and rulers of India who stand condemned before the bar of public opinion. Unfortunately, the historian is not in a position to discharge this duty. For no contemporary

1. Bṛihatkathā Kośa, 84. 13.
2. P. V., III. 3.

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Indian ever thought fit to chronicle the events of that critical period, nor anyone in centuries immediately following cared to inquire into the circumstances which led to such a momentous change in the fortunes of his country".[1] But I humbly submit to say, that like Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, as discussed above, other works and authors of the epoch exhibited their eagerness to know the causes of the Hindu collapse (pratyūha), as the learned historian is himself anxious to unravel the mystery of the Turkish conquest of India. Skanda Purāṇa[2] a work belonging to 9th-12th centuries A. D. asks as to how this country had been occupied by the Muslims:

कथं म्लेच्छ समाकीर्णो देशोऽयं द्विजसत्तम ।
एतदाचक्ष्व मां ब्रह्मन् मार्कण्डेय महामते ।।[3]

Rājataraṁgiṇī, the Kāśmīra-chronicle, too, asserts that the country was filled with Muslims and it was due to the political and social evil of that country which stood at the gateway of India. Kathāsarita Sāgara of Somadeva and Bṛihatkathāmañjarī of Kshemendra exhibit the political consciousness among the thinkers of this frontier country to bring about a revolutionary change in the political as well as social life of the country. Somadeva Sūrī, the reputed writer of Yaśastilaka and Nītivākyāmṛita, stands as a great revolutionary thinker of early medieval India. For he discusses, in his ornate prose the evils or the vices (pratyūha-samūha) which brought to the country the fury and fire of the Tājikas, a source of misery and misfortune to the entire country....[4]

Kathā Saritasāgara also gives us a clear picture of Mlechchhopadrava (CXX–17), which caused trouble and terror in the country. It observes that the gods so

1. Anc. India, Ch. VII, p. 331.
2. J.U.P.H.S., Vol. IX (1961), Part II, 'Skanda Purāṇa on the Collapse of Hindu Power-its causes', discussed by me.
3. Sk. P., V. III. 5. 14.
4. Yaśastilaka (N.S.P.), I, pp. 62, 114.

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afflicted went to Lord under the leadership of Indra and prayed (Kss., CXX. 19-23) :

ये त्वया देव निहता असुरा ये च विष्णुना ।
ते जाता म्लेच्छरूपेण पुनरद्य महीतले ।।

Katha S. S., CXX-19.

व्यापादयन्ति ते विघ्नान्घ्नन्ति यज्ञादिकाक्रियाः ।
हरन्ति मुनिकन्याश्च पापाः किं किं न कुर्वते ।।

Ibid., CXX. 20.

भूलोकाद्देवलोकश्च शश्वदाप्यायते प्रभो ।
ब्राह्मणैर्हुतमग्नौ हि हविस्तृप्त्यै दिवौकसाम् ।।

Ibid., CXX. 21.

म्लेच्छाक्रान्ते च भूलोके निर्वषट्कार मंगले ।
यज्ञभागादिविच्छेदाद्देव लोकोऽवसीदति ।।

Ibid., CXX. 22.

यदुपायं कुरुष्वात्र तं कंचिदवतारय ।
प्रवीरं भूतले यस्तान्म्लेच्छानुत्सादयिष्यति ।।

Ibid., CXX. 23.

King Mahendrāditya consequently descended upon earth at Ujjayinī and he is described to have destroyed the Mlechchhas devoted to the annihilation of Vedic Dharma (K. S. S. CXX-27, 28, 29, 78). Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya has also depicted the true picture of the country and culture threatened by the Mlechchhas.[1]

In the past Vikramāditya was created by the God as His own representative upon earth for the destruction of the Mlechchhas :—

त्वमादौ विक्रमादित्यः सृस्टोऽभूः स्वांशतो मया ।
म्लेच्छरूपावतीर्णानामसुराणां प्रशान्तये ।।

K. S. S., XCIX. 33.

In the age under review Nāgabhata, Chāhamāna and Pṛithivīrāja etc. also are stated to be the incarnations of the God, who descended upon the earth with the same mission.

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1. P. V., I. 48-50.

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Thus we see that neither the thinkers, were unaware of the imminent danger to the country nor the Kshatriyas deserted their post of responsibility at such a critical juncture. Kshatriya consoles the Mother Earth :

क्षत्रिय: सन्नदेशं स्वं त्यक्ष्यामि क्लीबवद्भुयात् ।
धीरा भवाम्ब क: शक्तो वराको मां प्रबाधितुम् ।।
K.S.S., LXXIV. 64.

Chālukyas of Gujrat continuously fought against Tājikas and Turushkas, Garjanas and Ghoris. Mūlarāja assumed the title of conqueror of Garjanaka (i.e. Gaznavide ruler). "We again like to emphasise here that the inscriptions of Bhīma invariably give Mūlarāja the epithet of conqueror of Garjanakas etc....."[1] Karṇasuṅdarī of Kāśmīrian poet, Bilhana, refers to conquest of Chālukyan army over Garjanapura (Gajjaṇa ṇaaraṁ[2] = Gazni) in a great battle fought on the banks of Siṅdhu (Indus) :

गर्जनाधिपतिवलस्यास्मद्बलं सिन्धो रोधसि मिलितम् ।।[3]

The Chālukyan commander of the royal forces takes pride in this conquest over Garjanakas (kṛitvā Garjanakādhirājamadhunā) which was in no way a mean achievement during the reign of king Karṇa (Kārṇa Suṅdarī, IV. 22). At this time Gaznavide power was on the wane. This short play also asserts the prime importance of a strong and unified state.[4]

Thus it is evident from what has been said on the basis of original sources, literary and epigraphic, that the Hindus did not enjoy any respite from the Muslim invasions which

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1. Dr. A. K., Majumdar. Chālukyas of Gujrat, p. 133.
2. Karṇasuṅdarī, Act IV, p. 53.
3. Ibid., p. 54.
4. Ibid., IV. 23 :
   दृष्टं देव्या किमपि भुवनाश्चर्यतत्त्वं महत्त्वं
   लब्धा लक्ष्मीरिव मनसिजक्ष्माभुव: पक्ष्मलाक्षी ।
   एकच्छत्रं समजनि महीमण्डलं तत्प्रियं मे
   किं स्यादस्मात्परमपि वरं यत्त याचे भवत्त: ।।
   Cf. My paper in Indian History Congress, 1963, Poona—
   "Chālukyan Conquest of Garjanapura or Gazna."

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continued unabated trying to penetrate into the heart of the country. It is also sheer speculation devoid of cogent reasons that the country lacked political consciousness which alone infused a new spirit of resistance which held these world conquerors at bay. It is equally untenable that there was no sense of patriotism. The above observations exihibit that it was only svadeśarāga (devotion to this country) that her defenders viz., the kshatriyas sacrificed their every thing at the altar of this sacred land, but they did not desert it—why should one hesitate in sacrificing oneself for the good of mother-land. Kathāsaritasāgara asserts that even a worst mother-land is held in respect and devotion, love and sacrifice. (KSS, LII. 189), what to say of, then, the country like Bhāratavarsha so highly eulogised by the gods. It is thus the highest sense of patriotism, which any race can boast of, towards its mother-land. It was this sense of love and devotion towards this country that a long war of liberation was fought for centuries, unabated.

It is thus evident that the country before the advent of Muslim rule in India did not suffer from the absence of patriotism or political consciousness. There are numerous references, as we have seen above, relating to the Hindu war of resistance and these works seem to discuss the evils of the contemporary political system with their suggestions for the improvement of society and people. Thus we conclude, according to Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya supplemented and supported by the other evidences, that there were two great demoniac forces viz., 'Vairānala'[1] and 'Rāgānala'[2] based on 'Vilāsavihāra'.[3]

Our fine country (ayaṁ ruchiro deśaḥ)[4], conceived as a charming lotus[5], was threatened by the contact of Mlech-

1. Rājataraṁgiṇī, III. i. 618 (c. f. Rājataraṁgiṇī, III. i. 600 to 650).
2. Daśakumāra Charita, Uttara 7-8,9.
3. Ibid., Uttara 7-10; 'Yogavasishṭha, Uttar, VI. 71. 19 (rāga-roga)
4. Matsya, P. CXXXVII. 18.
5. Ibid, CLXIX. 3 (ii).
   Ibid , p. CLXIX. 4 (i).

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chhas,[1] who had occupied the western and northern frontiers of our country.[2] The entire frontiers of the country were occupied by the Mlechchhas[3] styled Tājikas[4] and Turushkas.[5] Thus the Tājikas and Turushkas, the Sīmāṁta-śatrūs occuping the frontier regions of our country grew so powerful that a terrible war[6] on the frontiers near Kāśmīra was fought and the kingdom of Kāśmīra was first to face the tide of Turushkas after the fall of Siṁdha. The rulers of Kāśmīra like Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and Trilochanapāla etc. were not unconscious of the dangers. But the political system of Kāśmīra was suffering from many ills,[7] which are repeatedly mentioned with a sigh by Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarṁgiṇī. The important ones were :—

(1) Tyranny of the rulers (R. T., I. 88);[8]

(2) Maladministration (R. T., I. 274),[9] Durnīti, (R. T. VIII. 2962).

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1. Matsya P., CLXIX. 11.
2. Vāmana P., XIII 11 (ii).
   Ibid., XIII. 12 (i).
   Ibid. XLVII-34.
   K.S.S., CLXIX 35.
3. Matsya P., CXIV 11.
4. K.S.S., XXXVII 36.
5. Ibid., XXXVII 37, 40, 41.
6. Y.V., Uttarārdha, VI. 156. 10.
7. R. T., II. 36 :

   मग्ना दारुणे व्यसनार्णवे··· ।

8. Ibid., I. 88 :

   ये प्रजापीडनपरास्ते विनश्यन्तिसान्वया: ।

   Ibid., V. 159, etc.
   Ibid., VII. 100, 1595.
9. Ibid., I. 274 :

   दुर्णयेन क्षयं ययौ

   Ibid., II. 665 :

   राज्यं दुर्णय दूषित

   Ibid., VII. 170.
   Ibid., II.596.

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(3) Mutual fight and quarrel (III R. T., I. 566).[1]

(4) Negligience and the treachery of the dear ones.[2]

(5) Dissension and and disunity (bhedabhīti)[3] or kalaha.[4]

(6) Treachery of the ministers,[5] officials,[6] and queens.

(7) Dualism (dvairājyaṁ).[7]

(8) Woman—*'nārī charitra viplavaḥ* !.[8] and

(9) Kāma-rāga.[9]

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1. R. T., VI. 360.
   Ibid., VII. 262.
   Ibid., VII. 2729.
   Ibid., VII. 385.
   Ibid., VII. 398, 399, 401, 405, 476 to 490, 1074, 1364.
   Ibid , VII. 410 (1644, 1845)
   Ibid., VIII. 2067.
2. Ibid., VII. 51 :
   Ibid., VII. 100.
3. Ibid., VII. 489.
4. Ibid., VIII. 3348.
5. Ibid., VII. 1139 :

   कुर्मन्त्रिभिः ;

   Ibid., VII. 1191 :

   दुष्टमन्त्रिणा ;

   Ibid., VII. 1728.
   Ibid., VII. 2067.
   Ibid., VIII. 2729.
   Ibid., VIII. 2916 :

   अमात्यमतिदोषेण भूयः प्रादुष्कृतांकुरः

   Ibid., VIII. 3008 :

   अमात्यमतिजाड्येन नष्टे कृत्येऽथ ।

   Ibid.,
6. Ibid., VII. 149, 1238 Kāyasthas.
   Ibid., IV. 351, 352—Kāyasthas were the source of Prajā bhāgya-viparyayaḥ.
   Ibid., VIII. 88, 80, 90, 110, 113.
7. Ibid., VIII. 7.
8. Ibid. VII. 1145, 1146
   Ibid., VII. 425, 430.
9. Ibid., VII. 3018.

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(10) Nīti-vyatikrama.[1]

(11) Mantra-śūnya śaurya[2] i. e. valour devoid of political foresight (nīti-dṛiśā).[3]

**Prajā-viplava**

Tyranny of the rulers and officials leading to maladministration stirred the people's heart to agony and frustration which further aggravated their feelings against the tyrants. It thus, in course of time, led to the peoples' opposition and dislike (lokasya-viplavaṁ),[4] popular confusion and anarchy (prājā-viplava),[5] as well as peoples' arrogance and risings (prakṛityutseka).[6] Thus the disaster and calamity in the country (rājya-viplaya)[7] was the result of people's unrest (prajāpāpa vipāka). It was considered better to have no ruler than to have a tyrant.[8] Hence the kings were reminded of the ancient ideal of administration :

आत्मेवकच्चितसुकृती क्षितीशः प्रजाप्रियास्यप्रकृतिर्यथैव ।
तत्सौख्यवृद्धचा सुखिता तदीय दुःखेन च दुःखयुक्ता ॥

III. R. T., II. 245.

This is the traditional ideal of Hindu monarchy as was upheld by Kauṭilya :

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥

**Maladministration**

Rulers, queens, ministers and officials were the sources of troubles to the people. Thus it was 'durnaya' or

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1. R. T., VII. 315.
2. Ibid., VII. 219.
3. Ibid., VII. 224.
4. Ibid., VII. 212.
5. Ibid., IV. 715.
6. Ibid., VII. 2067.
7. Ibid., VIII. 434, 336.
8. II R. T. 723 :

अराजकं वरं राज्यं न स्वामी तादृशः पुनः ।
अभूषणौ वरं कर्णौ न पुनर्लोहकुंडलम् ॥

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'durnīti' i. e. bad policy of the government, which alienated people from their own state and government. Kingship (pārthivendratā) was mainly based on valour (śauryāśrayaḥ) by which, its enemies could be destroyed[1] and the political unification or the overlordship of the country (Jigāya jaitra yātrābhirmahīmarṇavamekhlāṁ).[2] A king was expected, then, to carry on the administration with the help of seven prakṛities viz., a judge (dharmādhyaksha) treasurer (dhanādhyaksha), superintendent of treasury koshādhyaksha), commander-in-chief (Chamūpati), ambassador (dūta) priest (Purodhā) and astrologer (daivajña)[3] as well as eighteen offices of public administration and law; and it was with the help of this governmental machinery that a king could administer the state in accordence with law and piety. This rule of pious law and paternal love (prajānāṁ)[4] has been styled as Yaudhishṭhirī-sthitiḥ[5] i. e. Dharma-rājya based on the principles of Rājadharma. Such an ideal state of happiness was rare depending on the good fortune as well as the pious deeds[6] of the people as well. But the rulers were reminded of their impending doom due to peoples' misery.[7] There was in Kāśmīra, the gateway of India, a great political confusion (mahānartha paraṁparā),[8] and ghora janakshaya,[9] famines (ghoro durbhiksha viplava),[10] selfishness (svātma poshaṇaṁ),[11] crookedness (kauṭilya)[12]

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1. R. T., I. 89.
2. Ibid., I. 115.
3. Ibid., I. 119.
4. Ibid., I. 98.
5. Ibid., I. 120 :

   कर्मस्थानानि धर्म्याणि तेनाष्टा दशकुर्वता ।
   ततः प्रभृति भूपेन कृता यौधिष्ठिरी स्थितिः ।।

6. Ibid., I. 187.
7. Ibid., I. 188.
8. Ibid., I. 198.
9. Ibid., I. 267.
10. Ibid , II. 20.
11. Ibid., II 25.
12. Ibid., VII. 275.

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siliness (mauḍhyaṁ)[1] and wickedness of kings,[2] and princes (kumārānāṁ pradushṭatā).[3]

Kings were so morally degraded and sensuous that they did not hesitate in seizing by force the wives of their subjects. What more can be the violation of law (nītyatikrama) than such an act of violence ?[4] Princes of the same house were hostile to one an other.[5] Ministers were corrupt, ambitious and crooked. Above all the kāyasthas also harassed the peopole. Such was the political confusion and admniistrative anarchy, that people were antagonised to the ruler and the ministers as well as feudatories desired their separate dominions like thieves; with such conditions of feudal anarchy, kings could not escape calamity in the absence of the finances.[6] Thus peole were really afflicted by the tyrannical rule and Kalhaṇa asserts that the furious fire of the people's wrath hastened the fall of the country:[7]

प्रजा पीड़न सन्ताप समुद्भूतो हुताशनः।
राज्ञः कुलं श्रियं प्राणान्नादग्ध्वा विनिर्वर्तते ।।

Next then, the dissensions, enemities, jealousy, pride and selfishness[8] leading to mutual wars sapped the life-blood of the country. In such an environment of mutual distrust and dissensions, the instigations of the wicked (khalachodanā)[9] also hastened the rapid collapse of

1. R. T., VII. 1469.
2. Ibid., VIII. 3012 :
   धूर्तो नृपो मुग्धः·····।
3. Ibid., VII. 1539 :
4. Ibid., IV. 29 :
   यत्र दारापहरणं राजैव कुरुते विशं।
   परः को नाम तत्रास्तु शमिनानीत्यतिक्रमे ।।
5. Ibid., III R T., I. 637.
6. Ibid., VIII. 7.
7. Ibid., VII. 1595.
8. Ibid , II. 514. Īrshyā-visha.
   Ibid., II. 522 : dvesha
   Ibid., VIII. 162. mātsarya
   Ibid., VIII. 532 : droha
   Ibid., VIII. 29 to 77 : svārthāṁdhya
9. II R. T., 494.

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Kāśmīra. Kalhaṇa observes that the sanctity of the land was destroyed by the treachery (droha) and even the clouds refused to wash the earth of its evils by means of rains.[1] Thus 'vairi-bhīti' caused a great calamity upon the earth, suffering from the loss of life and light due to drought.[2]

**Mantra-Viplava**

It had been stated by many contemporary political thinkers that the conduct and counsel of the ministers was responsible for the rise or fall of a king and his state. Somadeva Sūrī in his Yaśastilaka observes that Chāṇakya placed Chandra Gupta Maurya on the throne and made him a paramount ruler in the country with its full strength and stability, where as Duryodhana had to lose his life, position of paramountcy, and empire because of the bad counsel of his ministers.[3]

Modern historians[4] are also, very much, in the habit of lamenting the absence of such paramount rulers as Chandra Gupta Maurya. But it was not Chandra Chupta Maurya, but Chāṇakya who was the author of the political revolution in Panjab and Magadha after the devastation of the sacred land by the Alexandrian forces. It was Chāṇakya, the teacher of political philosophy at Taxilla, the scene of action, that the astute statesman and politician observed the impending deluge after the Greek invader's return. Though Alexander died in the way, but his lieutenant Seleukos Niketor came to fulfil his master's plans. But in this short period of time, Chāṇakya had turned weak and divided India into a solid rock of strength and stability against which the Greek invader struck his head hard to cede the four satrapies of his empire to Chandra Gupta. Chāṇakya had also destroyed the unpopular rule at Magadha and so also he guided as well as goaded Chandra Gupta to that exalted position of paramount sovereignty. But it could

1. R. T., VII. 1644.
2. Ibid., VII. 1645.
3. Yaśastilaka, III. 243.
4. Smith, E. H. I, IV Edn., p. 371.

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all be achieved because of the selfless dovotion and strong determination of Chāṇakya as well as inalienable faith, devotion and sense of duty, Chandra Gupta treasured in his heart for his teacher. Mudrā-rākshasa is nothing but an illustration of the idea of Somadeva regarding the Vighaṭana (disintegration) and integration (saṁghaṭana) of the country, which could be achieved only by the faithful devotion of the ruler towards his conscientious minister (Guru-Purodhā). There were in the country, many Chandra Guptas like Nāga-bhata (I & II) Mihirabhoja, Mahendra Pāla, Gaṇḍa-Dhanga, Bhoja Paramāra. Kumārapāla, Govind Chandra and Pṛithivi-rāja III, the Bhārateśvara. But Brāhmana-ministers, usually, had now ceased to act as the mentors and the censors of the ruling power. They were, mostly, now accustomed to flattery (Chāṭūkti). On the other hand there were such sincere and honest ministers like Rudrāditya, minister of Muñja (Parāmāra ruler) who did not stay to see the sucidal fall of his patron, unmindful of his warnings. Thus the arrogance of the rulers was also an important factor which forced ministers to think otherwise.

Rājataraṁgiṇī, however, repeatedly refers to the fall of the Kauravas led by Duryodhana due to the poisonous counsel of his ministers.

**Patriotic appeal for national unity**

"India's general defence polilcy was to defend her borders to the best of her ability..... The strongest shield or weapon of defence for India, Mr. Menon continued, would be for her to generate a policy of unity and stability in the country. "India time and again, lost her freedom, not because the conquerors were strong, but because the country was riven with dissensions. There was lack of solidarity, which paved way for the country's utter ruin. It is a part of wisdom that each and every one should realize that our external position depended on the internal condition. No country can defend itself, unless the people were patriotic and realised their responsibilities. In the context of defence, it is most essential

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that our internal strength should be the greater".[1] Similar was also the urgency a thousand years ago. There were many characteristics and channels through which the current of Hindu patriotism is exhibited flowing to stimulate the spirit of patriotism in the hearts of the people as well as the princes.

"There can be no doubt that a naturally defined territory of geographical unity, often described by the name 'homeland' is a powerful tie in the formation of nationality. Several exceptions to this statement may, however, be found. For ages the Jews have had no national home of their own. Yet the hope that some day Palestine will be restored to them has kept alive and given strength to the Jewish nationality.....Where there is no national home or no hope of securing one it is difficult to acquire or develop the spirit of nationality.....Natural boundaries thus play a very important part in the evolution and continuance of nationality.....Naturally marked geographical boundaries are an immense aid to nationality, owing to various reasons. In the first place geography and climate have a definite bearing upon the character and physique of a people. They tend to create common physical, mental, psychological traits, thereby aiding co-operation and mutual understanding upon people.....".[2] The conception of India's inherent unity has been developed through the ages on the basis of undivided India stretching from Kāśmira to Cape Comorin as a single country. Its unity is writ large on its map. Mountain-guarded in the north and sea-girt in the south, India has been planned by Nature as an indisputable geographical unit sharply isolated from the world outside by natural boundaries forming formidable barriers to intercourse with foreign countries".[3] The medieval Hindu works as well as epigraphs uphold the unity of our homeland with special stress on its sanctity and superiority as compared with the other countries of the world.

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1. Sri V. K. Menon--Defence Minister, Govt. of India quoted from Hindustan Times, Sunday August 5, 1962, p. 12.
2. Political Theory (Supplement) by Asirvatham, pp. 666-667.
3. Glimpses of Ancient India, p. 99.

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Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra, mentioned as, sārvabhauma ruler, is also stated to have conquered the eastern country extending upto Pūrvāsāgara[1] and Gauḍa-maṇḍala, and south (Dakshiṇāpatha),[2] upto Kāverī,[3] Pāṇḍya[4] and the Southern sea.[5] Then he turned to the west[6] comprising Koṅkaṇa and reached Dwārakā on the Western coast.[7] He also conquered Avanti with its capital at Ujjayinī[8] and Uttarāpatha[9] upto Kamboja[10] (the hilly region), Bhūkhāra-hills[11] (the hilly region known as Bhokhara), Bhauṭṭa (Bhutan),[12] Darada (Daradistan),[13] Prāgjyotshapura (Gauhati),[14] Strīrājya[15] (some Himalayan State) and Uttara Kuru.[16] Thus the ideal of Chakravartī (pada) was realised by the Kāśmīrian ruler in the 8th Century A.D., when Turushkas[17] were trying to extend their sway in the country.

Thus in such critical times, the question of unity in the country had assumed an urgency. Hence the medieval thinkers have asserted the traditional geographical unity of Bhāratavarsha. It was still conceived as a Chakravartīkshetra called 'sea-girt land' (mahīmarṇavamekhalāṁ)[18] and 'Yaudhishṭhirī sthiti,[19] attained after conquest represents the

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1. R. T., IV. 147.
2. Ibid., IV. 153.
3. Ibid., IV. 156.
4. Ibid., IV. 157.
5. Ibid., IV. 158, 159.
6. Ibid., III. 159:

   प्रतस्थे पश्चिमांशा जिगूषाणाम् पश्चिमः
7. Ibid., IV. 161.
8. Ibid., IV. 163.
9. Ibid., IV. 164.
10. Ibid., IV. 166.
11. Ibid., IV. 167.
12. Ibid., IV. 169.
13. Ibid., IV. 170.
14. Ibid., IV. 172.
15. Ibid., IV. 174, 175.
16. Ibid., IV. 176.
17. Ibid., I. 180.
18. Ibid., I. 115.
19. Ibid., I. 120.

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highest ideal of unity and devotion to this sacred land which was held dear to heart by all, as we know from the great Epic. Thus we find that the entire country as a single geographical unit[1] had not been lost sight of and this conception of geographical unity strengthened the forces of national integration. For, observes Asirvatham, that, "the country is the suitable geographical unit for the calllng out of the highest patriotic feelings".[2]

The entire sacred land was a coveted field of political enterprise and religious sanctity to the rulers of medieval India.[3]

For it was believed to be Rāja-Chakra (or Chakravartī kshetra)[4] and the kshatriya rulers aspired to conquer it. Thus the kings were devoted to earth (dharānuraktā)[5] which they strove to free from the furious foes. Though there were many defects in the political system of the country associated with the Middle Ages, yet the contemporary records do not admit the absence of patriotism which inspired them to put a stubborn resistance to the world conquerors.

Geographical unity and the national ideals, which bound the princes to the land, also paved way for national unity. There was a vigorous attempt to restore sanctity of the land destroyed by Kalikuñjara.

In the case of Prithvīrāja, too, he was admonished for his conduct by his brother-in-law. But he had strong detirmination to attack the forces of Mohammad Ghori during his invasion upon Gujrat (1178 A.D.) and his minister committed a great mistake in checking his youthful patron from a daring dash upon the country's scourage. The

1. Navasāri plates of Pulakeśirāja (Kalachuri) year 490 = 739 A. C., C. I. I. Vol. IV., p. 140.
2. Political Theory 'Supplement', p. 668-69.
3. Rewa Stone Ins. of Karṇa, year, 800, C. I. I., IV., p. 269, Verses 13 (1049 A C.) :
   Cf. Ibid., p. 286, verse 10.
4. Ibid., p. 306, verse 2.
5. Ibid., pp. 328, verse 13.

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learned minister Kadambavāsa failed to assess the danger for he so underestimated Mohammad Ghori (P. V., X. 4). The minister still took the narrow view of the relations between Gnjrat and Ajmer. Instead of healing the wounds between the two neighbouring states of India to face a common danger, he still held Gujrat and Ghoris on the equal level (P. V., XI. 5).

It was nothing but the stupidity of the minister to realise what the poet-statesman Māna observes :

जहाँ बैर तहँ बैर वहु मेल तहाँ बहु मेल ।

Rajav, IX. 60.

which is the old maxim

नहिं वैरेण वैराणि शाम्यंति

Prithivīrāja III, the Bhāratesvara was fully prepared for the task (P. V., X. 42). Unmindful of Pṛithivīrāja's dedication to the task of destroying the demoniac people (Mlechchhas), Mohammad Ghori sent a messenger to Ajmer.

Thus the tactful Ghori was trying to neutralise the forces of Ajmer dreaded by him, when he sought a truce with the Chāhamāna ruler. Here Mohammada Ghori was following the shrewd policy well preached by ancient thinkers of our land, where as Kadambavāsa failed to take a note of warning :

अथवा पूर्व वैरं त्वं स्मरन् कालं जिर्हीषसि ।
पश्य दुष्कृत कर्मस्त्वं व्यक्तमायुः क्षयं तव ।।

Śānti Parva, CXXXVII .104.

and also the basic principle of diplomacy was ignored:

नहिं कश्चित् कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित् कस्यचिपुः ।
अर्थतस्तु निबद्धचन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ।।

Ibid., CXXXVII.110 ; etc.

i. e. There is no such thing as a foe. There is no such thing in existence as friend. It is force of circumstances that creates friends and foes ; friends and foes arise from the consideration of interest and gain. As elephants are cap-

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tured in the forests with the help of other trained elephants". Thus the circumstances dictated upon Kadambavāsa to change his attitude and policy but he failed unfortunately. Thus it is clear that the country lacked Chāṇakya and not Chandra Gupta in the age under review.

An other factor which is responsible for the defeat of Pṛithivīrāja as well as collapse of Hindu power is our hero's indulgence with Saṁyogitā, a newly wedded queen and due to it, his indifference towards the determined enemy like Mohammada Ghorī, as we are told that "those, who after making their enemies bitterly hostile are careless, are fated to meet the doom :

विधाय वैरं सामर्षे नरोऽरौ य उदासते ।
प्रक्षिप्यौदर्चिषं कक्षे शेरते तेऽभिमारुतम् ॥

Śiśupālavadha, II. 42.

It was thus the Fate, cruel and cold, by which country was benumbed. Rāshṭra-bhishagas were trying hard to remedy the ills of the body-politic, but it was all in vain for the present :

किमौषध पथातिगैरुपहतोमहाव्याधिभिः ।

VANDE MATARAM

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# APPENDIX I

## MĀRJĀRA—MUSHIKĀKHYĀNA

### A—SĀNTI PARVA, Chapter CXXXVIII

**युधिष्ठिर उवाच**

सर्वत्र बुद्धिः कथिता श्रेष्ठा ते भरतर्षभ ।
अनागता तथोत्पन्ना दीर्घसूत्रा विनाशिनी ।। १ ।।

तदिच्छामि परां श्रोतुं बुद्धिं ते भरतर्षभ ।
यथा राजा न मुह्येत् शत्रुभिः परिवारितः ।। २ ।।

धर्मार्थकुशलो राजा धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः ।
पृच्छामि त्वां कुरु श्रेष्ठ तन्मे व्याख्यातुमर्हसि ।। ३ ।।

शत्रुर्बहुभिर्ग्रस्तो यथा वर्तेत पार्थिवः ।
एतदिच्छाम्यहं श्रोतुं सर्वमेव यथाविधि ।। ४ ।।

विषमस्थं हि राजानं शत्रवः परिपन्थिनः ।
बहवोऽप्येकमुद्धर्तुं यतन्ते पूर्वतापिताः ।। ५ ।।

सर्वत्र प्रार्थ्यमानेन दुर्बलेन महाबलैः ।
एकेनैवासहायेन शक्यं स्थातुं भवेत् कथम् ।। ६ ।।

कथं मित्रमरिं चापि विन्दते भरतर्षभ ।
चेष्टितव्यं कथं चात्र शत्रोर्मित्रस्य चान्तरे ।। ७ ।।

प्रज्ञातलक्षणे मित्रे तथैवामित्रतां गते ।
कथं तु पुरुषः कुर्यात् कृत्वा किं वा सुखी भवेत् ।। ८ ।।

विग्रहं केन वा कुर्यात् संधिं वा केन योजयेत् ।
कथं वा शत्रुमध्यस्थो वर्तेत् बलवानपि ।। ९ ।।

एतद् वै सर्वकृत्यानां परं कृत्यं परंतप ।
नैतस्य कश्चिद् वक्तास्ति श्रोता वापि सुदुर्लभः ।। १० ।।

ऋते शान्तनवाद् भीष्मात् सत्यसंधाज्जितेन्द्रियात् ।
तदन्विष्य महाभाग सर्वमेतद् वदस्व मे ।। ११ ।।

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त्वद्युक्तोऽयमनुप्रश्नो युधिष्ठिर सुखोदयः ।
शृणु मे पुत्र कात्स्न्र्येन गुह्यमापत्सु भारत ॥ १२ ॥
अमित्रो मित्रतां याति मित्रं चापि प्रदुष्यति ।
सामर्थ्ययोगात् कार्याणामनित्या वै सदा गतिः ॥ १३ ॥
तस्माद् विश्वसितव्यं च विग्रहं च समाचरेत् ।
देशं कालं च विज्ञाय कार्याकार्यविनिश्चये ॥ १४ ॥
संधातव्यं बुधैर्नित्यं व्यवस्य च हितार्थिभिः ।
अमित्रैरपि संधेयं प्राणा रक्ष्या हि भारत ॥ १५ ॥
यो ह्यमित्रैर्नरो नित्यं न संदध्यादपण्डितः ।
न सोऽर्थं प्राप्नुयात् किंचित् फलान्यपि च भारत ॥ १६ ॥
यस्त्वमित्रेण संदध्यान्मित्रेण च विरुद्धचते ।
अर्थयुक्तिं समालोक्य सुमहद् विन्दते फलम् ॥ १७ ॥
अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।
मार्जारस्य च संवादं न्यग्रोधे मूषिकस्य च ॥ १८ ॥
वने महति कश्मिश्चिन्न्यग्रोधः सुमहानभूत् ।
लताजालपरिच्छिन्नो नानाद्विजगणान्वितः ॥ १९ ॥
स्कन्धवान् मेघसङ्काशः शीतच्छायो मनोरमः ।
अरण्यमभितो जातः स तु व्यालमृगाकुलः ॥ २० ॥
तस्य मूलं समाश्रित्य कृत्वा शतमुखं बिलम् ।
वसति स्म महाप्राज्ञः पलितो नाम मूषिकः ॥ २१ ॥
शाखां तस्य समाश्रित्य वसति स्म सुखं पुरा ।
लोमशो नाम मार्जारः पक्षिसंघातखादकः ॥ २२ ॥
तत्र चागत्य चाण्डालो ह्यरण्ये कृतकेतनः ।
प्रयोजयति चोन्माथं नित्यमस्तंगते रवौ ॥ २३ ॥
तत्र स्नायुमयान् पाशान् यथावत् संविधाय सः ।
गृहं गत्वा सुखं शेते प्रभातामेति शर्वरीम् ॥ २४ ॥
तत्र स्म नित्यं बध्यन्ते नक्तं बहुविधाः मृगाः ।
कदाचिदत्र मार्जारस्त्वप्रमत्तो व्यबध्यत ॥ २५ ॥
तस्मिन् बद्धे महाप्राणे शत्रौ नित्याततायिनि ।
तं कालो पलितो ज्ञात्वा प्रचचार सुनिर्भयः ॥ २६ ॥

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तेनानुचरता तस्मिन् वने विश्वस्तचारिणा ।
भक्ष्यं मृगयमाणेन चिराद् दृष्टं तदामिषम् ॥ २७ ॥

स तमुन्माथमाह्य तदामिषमभक्षयत् ॥ २८ ॥

तस्योपरि सपत्नस्य बद्धस्य मनसा हसन् ।
आमिषे तु प्रसक्तः स कदाचिदवलोकयन् ॥ २९ ॥

अपश्यदपरं घोरमात्मानः शत्रुमागतम् ।
शरप्रसूनसङ्काशं महीविवरशायिनम् ॥ ३० ॥

नकुलं हरिणं नाम चपलं ताम्रलोचनम् ।
तेन मूषिकगन्धेन त्वरमाणमुपागतम् ॥ ३१ ॥

भक्ष्यार्थं संलिहानं तं भूमावूर्ध्वमुखं स्थितम् ।
शाखागतमरिं चान्यमपश्यत् कोटरालयम् ॥ ३२ ॥

उलूकं चन्द्रकं नाम तीक्ष्णतुण्डं क्षपाचरम् ।
गतस्य विषयं तत्र नकुलोलूकयोस्तथा ॥ ३३ ॥

अथास्यासीदियं चिन्ता तत् प्राप्य सुमहद्भयम् ।
आपद्यस्यां सुकष्टायां मरणे प्रत्युपस्थिते ॥ ३४ ॥

समन्ताद् भय उत्पन्ने कथं कार्यं हितैषिणा ।
स तथा सर्वतो रुद्धः सर्वत्र भयदर्शनः ॥ ३५ ॥

अभवद् भयसंतप्तश्चक्रे च परमां मतिम् ।
आपद्विनाशभूयिष्ठं गतैः कार्यं हि जीवितम् ॥ ३६ ॥

समन्तात् संशयात् सैषा तस्मादापदुपस्थिता ।
गतं मां सहसा भूमिं नकुलो भक्षयिष्यति ॥ ३७ ॥

उलूकश्चेह तिष्ठन्तं मार्जारः पाशसंक्षयात् ।
न त्वेवास्मद्विधः प्राज्ञः सम्मोहं गन्तुमर्हति ॥ ३८ ॥

करिष्ये जीविते यत्नं यावद् युक्त्या प्रतिग्रहात् ।
नहि बुद्ध्यान्वितः प्राज्ञो नीतिशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ ३९ ॥

निमज्जत्यापदं प्राप्य महतीं दारुणामपि ॥ ४० ॥

न त्वन्यामिह मार्जाराद् गतिं पश्यामि सांप्रतम् ।
विषमस्थो ह्यं शत्रुः कृत्यं चास्य महन्मया ॥ ४१ ॥

जीवतार्थी कथं त्वद्य शत्रुभिः प्रार्थितस्त्रिभिः ।
तस्मादेनमहं शत्रुं मार्जारं संश्रयामि वै ॥ ४२ ॥

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नीतिशास्त्रं समाश्रित्य हितमस्योपवर्णये ।
येनेमं शत्रुसंघातं मतिपूर्वेण वञ्चये ॥ ४३ ॥

अयमत्यन्तशत्रुर्मे वैषम्यं परमं गतः ।
मूढो ग्राहयितुं स्वार्थं सङ्गत्या यदि शक्यते ॥ ४४ ॥

कदाचिद् व्यसनं प्राप्य संधि कुर्यान्मया सह ।
बलिना संनिकृष्टस्य शत्रोरपि परिग्रहः ॥ ४५ ॥

कार्य इत्याहुराचार्या विषमे जीवितार्थिना ।
श्रेष्ठो हि पण्डितः शत्रुर्न च मित्रमपण्डितः ॥ ४६ ॥

मम त्वमित्रे मार्जारे जीवितं सम्प्रतिष्ठिम् ।
हन्तास्मै सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि हेतुमात्माभिरक्षणे ॥ ४७ ॥

अपीदानीमयं शत्रुः सङ्गत्या पण्डितो भवेत् ।
एवं विचिन्तयामास मूषिकः शत्रुचेष्टितम् ॥ ४८ ॥

ततोऽर्थगतितत्त्वज्ञः संन्धिविग्रहकालवित् ।
सान्त्वपूर्वमिदं वाक्यं मार्जारं मूषिकोऽब्रवीत् ॥ ४९ ॥

सौहृदेनाभिभाषे त्वां कच्चिन्मार्जार जीवसि ।
जीवितं हि तवेच्छामि श्रेयः साधारणं हि नौ ॥ ५० ॥

न ते सौम्य भयं कार्यं जीविष्यसि यथासुखम् ।
अहं त्वामुद्धरिष्यामि यदि मां न जिघांससि ॥ ५१ ॥

अस्ति कश्चिदुपायोऽत्र दुष्करः प्रतिभाति मे ।
येन शक्यस्त्वया मोक्षः प्राप्तुं श्रेयस्तथा मया ॥ ५२ ॥

मयाप्युपायो दृष्टोऽयं विचार्य मतिमात्मनः ।
आत्मार्थं च त्वदर्थं च श्रेयः साधारणं हि नौ ॥ ५३ ॥

इदं हि नकुलोलूकं पापबुद्ध्याभिसंस्थितम् ।
न धर्षयति मार्जार तेन मे स्वस्ति साम्प्रतम् ॥ ५४ ॥

कूजंश्चपलनेत्रोऽयं कौशिको मां निरीक्षते ।
नगशाखाग्रगः पापस्तस्याहं भृशमुद्विजे ॥ ५५ ॥

सतां साप्तपदं मैत्रं स सखा मेऽसि पण्डितः ।
सांवास्यकं करिष्यामि नास्ति ते भयमद्य वै ॥ ५६ ॥

नहि शक्तोऽसि मार्जार पाशं छेत्तुं मया विना ।
अहं छेत्स्यामि पाशांस्ते यदि मां त्वं न हिंसिस ॥ ५७ ॥

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त्वमाश्रितो द्रुमस्याग्रं मूलं त्वहमुपाश्रितः ।
चिरोषितावुभावावांवृक्षेऽस्मिन् विदितं च ते ।। ५८।।

यस्मिन्नाश्वासते कश्चिद् यश्च नाश्वसिति क्वचित् ।
न तौ धीराः प्रशंसन्ति नित्यमुद्विग्नमानसौ ।। ५९ ।।

तस्माद् विवर्धतां प्रीतिर्नित्यं संगतमस्तु नौ ।
कालातीतमिहार्थं तु न प्रशंसन्ति पण्डिताः ।। ६० ।।

अर्थयुक्तिमिमां तत्र यथाभूतां निशामय ।
तव जीवितमिच्छामि त्वं ममेच्छसि जीवितम् ।। ६१ ।।

कश्चित् तरति काष्ठेन सुगम्भीरां महानदीम् ।
स तारयति तत् काष्ठं स च काष्ठेन तार्यते ।। ६२ ।।

ईदृशो नौ समायोगो भविष्यति सुविस्तरः ।
अहं त्वां तारयिष्यामि मां च त्वं तारयिष्यसि ।। ६३ ।।

एवमुक्त्वा तु पलितस्तमर्थमुभयोर्हितम् ।
हेतुमद् ग्रहणीयं च कालापेक्षी न्यवेक्ष्य च ।। ६४ ।।

अथ सुव्याहृतं श्रुत्वा तस्य शत्रोर्विचक्षणः ।
हेतुमद् ग्रहणीयार्थं मार्जारो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।। ६५ ।।

बुद्धिमान् वाक्यसम्पन्नस्तद्वाक्यमनुवर्णयन् ।
स्वामवस्थां समीक्ष्याथ साम्नैव प्रत्यपूजयत् ।। ६६ ।।

ततस्तीक्ष्णाग्रदशनो मणिवैदूर्यलोचनः ।
मूषिकं मन्दमुद्वीक्ष्य मार्जारो लोमशोऽब्रवीत् ।। ६७ ।।

नन्दामि सौम्य भद्रं ते यो मां जीवतुमिच्छसि ।
श्रेयश्च यदि जानीषे क्रियतां मां विचारय ।। ६८ ।।

अहं हि भृशमापन्नस्त्वमापन्नतरो मम ।
द्वयोरापन्नयोः संधिः क्रियतां मा चिराय च ।। ६९ ।।

विधास्ये प्राप्तकालं यत् कार्यं सिद्धिकरं विभो ।
मयि कृच्छ्राद् विनिर्मुक्तेन विनङ्क्ष्यति ते कृतम् ।। ७० ।।

न्यस्तमानोऽस्मि भक्तोऽस्मि शिष्यस्त्वद्धितकृत् तथा ।
निदेशवशवर्ती च भवन्तं शरणं गतः ।। ७१ ।।

इत्येवमुक्तः पलितो मार्जारं वशमागतम् ।
वाक्यं हितमुवाचेदमभिनीतार्थमर्थवित् ।। ७२ ।।

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उदारं यद् भवानाह नैतच्चित्रं भवद्विधे ।
विहितो यस्तु मार्गो मे हितार्थं शृणुतं मम ॥ ७३ ॥

अहं त्वानुप्रवेक्ष्यामि नकुलान्मे महद् भयम् ।
त्रायस्व भो मा वधीस्त्वं शक्तोऽस्मि तव रक्षणे ॥ ७४ ॥

उलूकाच्चैव मां रक्ष क्षुद्रः प्रार्थयते हि माम् ।
अहं छेत्स्यामि ते पाशान् सखे सत्येन ते शपे ॥ ७५ ॥

तद्वचः संगतं श्रुत्वा लोमशो युक्तमर्थवत् ।
हर्षादुद्वीक्ष्य पलितं स्वागतेनाभ्यपूजयत् ॥ ७६ ॥

तं सम्पूज्याथ पलितं मार्जारः सौहृदे स्थितः ।
स विचिन्त्याब्रवीद् धीरः प्रीतस्त्वरित एव च ॥ ७७ ॥

शीघ्रमागच्छ भद्रं ते त्वं मे प्राणसमः सखा ।
तव प्राज्ञ प्रसादाद्धि प्रायः प्राप्स्यामि जीवितम् ॥ ७८ ॥

यद् यदेवंगतेनाद्य शक्यं कर्तुं मया तव ।
तदाज्ञापय कर्तास्मि संधिरेवास्तु नौ सखे ॥ ७९ ॥

अस्मात् तु संकटान्मुक्तः समित्रगणबान्धवाः ।
सर्वं कार्याणि कर्ताहं प्रियाणि च हितानि च ॥ ८० ॥

मुक्तश्च व्यसनादस्मात् सौम्याहमपि नाम ते ।
प्रीतिमुत्पादयेयं च प्रीतिकर्तुश्च सत्क्रियाम् ॥ ८१ ॥

प्रत्युपकुर्वन् बह्वपि न भाति पूर्वोपकारिणा तुल्यः ।
एकः करोति हि कृते निष्कारणमेव कुरुतेऽन्यः ॥ ८२ ॥

**भीष्म उवाच**

ग्राहयित्वा तु तं स्वार्थं मार्जारं मूषिकस्तथा ।
प्रविवेश तु विश्रभ्य क्रोडमस्य कृतागसः ॥ ८३ ॥

एवमाश्वासितो विद्वान् मार्जारेण स मूषिकः ।
मार्जारोरसि विस्रब्धः सुष्वाप पितृमातृवत् ॥ ८४ ॥

लीनं तु तस्य गात्रेषु मार्जारस्य च मूषिकम् ।
दृष्ट्वा तौ नकुलोलूकौ निराशौ प्रत्ययद्यताम् ॥ ८५ ॥

तथैव तु सुसंत्रस्तौ दृढमागततन्द्रितौ ।
दृष्ट्वा तयोः परां प्रीतिं विस्मयं परमं गतौ ॥ ८६ ॥

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बलिनौ मतिमन्तौ च सुवृत्तौ चाप्युपासितौ ।
अशक्तौ तु नयात् तस्मात् सम्प्रधर्षयितुं बलात् ।। ८७ ।।

कार्यार्थं कृतसंधी तौ दृष्ट्वा मार्जारमूषिकौ ।
उलूकनकुलौ तूर्णं जग्मतुस्तौ स्वमालयम् ।। ८८ ।।

लीनः स तस्य गात्रेषु पलितो देशकालवित् ।
विच्छेद पाशान् नृपते कालापेक्षी शनैः शनैः ।। ८९ ।।

अथ बन्धपरिक्लिष्टो मार्जारो वीक्ष्य मूषिकम् ।
छिन्दन्तं वै तदा पाशानत्वरन्तं त्वरान्वितः ।। ९० ।।

तमत्वरन्तं पलितं पाशानां छेदने तथा ।
संचोदयितुमारेभे मार्जारो मूषिकं तदा ।। ९१ ।।

किं सौम्य नातित्वरसे कृतार्थोऽवमन्यसे ।
छिन्धि पाशानमित्रघ्न पुरा श्वपच एति च ।। ९२ ।।

इत्युक्तस्त्वरता तेन मतिमान् पलितोऽब्रवीत् ।
मार्जारमकृतप्रज्ञं पथ्यमात्महितं वचः ।। ९३ ।।

तूष्णीं भव न ते सौम्य त्वरा कार्या न सम्भ्रमः ।
वयमेवात्र कालज्ञा न कालः परिहास्यते ।। ९४ ।।

अकाले कृत्यमारब्धं कर्तुर्नार्थाय कल्पते ।
तदेव काल आरब्धं महतेऽर्थाय कल्पते ।। ९५ ।।

अकाले विप्रमुक्तान्मे त्वत्त एव भयं भवेत् ।
तस्मात् कालं प्रतीक्षस्व किमिति त्वरसे सखे ।। ९६ ।।

यदा पश्यामि चाण्डालमायान्तं शस्त्रपाणिनम् ।
ततश्छेत्स्यामि ते पाशान् प्राप्ते साधारणे भये ।। ९७ ।।

तस्मिन् काले प्रमुक्तस्त्वं तरुमेवाधिरोक्ष्यसे ।
न हि ते जीवितादन्यत् किंचित् कृत्यं भविष्यति ।। ९८ ।।

ततो भवत्यपक्रान्ते त्रस्ते भीते च लोमश ।
अहं बिलं प्रवेक्ष्यामि भवान् शाखां भजष्यिति ।। ९९ ।।

एवमुक्तस्तु मार्जारो मूषिकेणात्मनो हितम् ।
वचनं वाक्यतत्त्वज्ञो जीवितार्थी महामतिः ।।१००।।

अथात्मकृत्ये त्वरितः सम्यक् प्रश्रितमाचरन् ।
उवाच लोमशो वाक्यं मूषिकं चिरकारिणम् ।।१०१।।

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न ह्येवं मित्रकार्याणि प्रीत्या कुर्वन्ति साधवः ।
यथा त्वं मोक्षितः कृच्छ्रात् त्वरमाणेन वै मया ॥ १०२ ॥

तथा हि त्वरमाणेन त्वया कार्यं हितं मम् ।
यत्नं कुरु महाप्राज्ञ यथा रक्षाऽऽवयोर्भवेत् ॥ १०३ ॥

अथवा पूर्ववैरं त्वं स्मरन् कालं जिहीर्षसि ।
पश्य दुष्कृतकर्मस्त्वं व्यक्तमायुःक्षयं तव ॥ १०४ ॥

यदि किंचिन्मयाज्ञानात् पुरस्ताद् दुष्कृतं कृतम् ।
न तन्मनसि कर्तव्यं क्षामये त्वां प्रसीद मे ॥ १०५ ॥

तमेवं वादिनं प्राज्ञः शास्त्रबुद्धिसमन्वितः ।
उवाचेदं वचः श्रेष्ठं मार्जारं मूषिकस्तदा ॥ १०६ ॥

श्रुतं मे तव मार्जार स्वमर्थं परिगृह्णतः ।
ममापि त्वं विजानासि स्वमर्थं परिगृह्णतः ॥ १०७ ॥

यन्मित्रं भीतवत्साध्यं यन्मित्रं भयसंहितम् ।
सुरक्षितव्यं तत् कार्यं पाणिः सर्पमुखादिव ॥ १०८ ॥

कृत्वा बलवता संधिमात्मानं यो न रक्षति ।
अपथ्यमिव तद् भुक्तं तस्य नार्थाय कल्पते ॥ १०९ ॥

न कश्चित् कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित् कस्यचिद् रिपुः ।
अर्थतस्तु निबद्धचन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥११०॥

अर्थैरर्था निबद्धचन्ते गजैर्वनगजा इव ।
न च कश्चित् कृते कार्ये कर्तारं समवेक्षते ॥ १११ ॥

तस्मात् सर्वाणि कार्याणि सावशेषाणि कारयेत् ।
तस्मिन् कालेऽपि च भवान् दिवाकीर्तिभयार्दितः ॥ ११२ ॥

मम न ग्रहणे शक्तः पलायनपरायणः ।
छिन्नं तु तन्तुबाहुल्यं तन्तुरेकोऽवशेषितः ॥ ११३ ॥

छेत्स्याम्यहं ततप्यासु निर्वृतो भव लोमश ।
तयोः संवदतोरेवं तथैवापन्नयोर्द्वयोः ॥ ११४ ॥

क्षयं जगाम सा रात्रिर्लोमशं त्वाविशद् भयम् ।
ततः प्रभातसमये विकृतः कृष्णपिङ्गलः ॥ ११५ ॥

स्थूलस्फिग् विकृतो रूक्षः श्वयूथपरिवारितः ।
शंकुकर्णो महावक्त्रो मलिनो घोरदर्शनः ॥ ११६ ॥

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परिघो नाम चाण्डालः शस्त्रपाणिरदृश्यत ।
यं दृष्ट्वा यम दूताभं मार्जारस्त्रस्तचेतनः ।। ११७ ।।

उवाच वचनं भीतः किमिदानीं करिष्यसि ।
अथ तावपि संत्रस्तौ तं दृष्ट्वा घोर संकुलम् ।। ११८ ।।

क्षणेन नकुलोलूकौ नैराश्यमुपजग्मतुः ।
बलिनौ मतिमन्तौ च संघाते चाप्युपागतौ ।। ११९ ।।

अशक्तौ सुनयात् तस्मात् समप्रधर्षयितुं बलात् ।
कार्यार्थे कृतसंधानौ दृष्ट्वा मार्जारमूषिकौ ।। १२० ।।

उलूकनकुलौ तत्र जग्मतुः स्वं स्वमालयम् ।
ततश्चिच्छेद तं पाशं मार्जारस्य च मूषिकः ।। १२१ ।।

विप्रमुक्तोऽथ मार्जारस्तमेवाभ्यपतद् द्रुतम् ।
स तस्मात् सम्भ्रमावर्तान्मुक्तो घोरेण शत्रुणा ।। १२२ ।।

बिलं विवेश पलितः शाखां लेभे स लोमशः ।
उन्माथमप्यथादाय चाण्डालो वीक्ष्य सर्वशः ।। १२३ ।।

विहताशः क्षणेनास्ते तस्माद् देशादपाक्रमत् ।
जगाम स स्वभवनं चाण्डालो भरतर्षभ ।। १२४ ।।
ततस्तस्माद् भयान्मुक्तो दुर्लभं प्राप्य जीवितम् ।

बिलस्थं पादपाग्रस्थः पलितं लोमशोऽब्रवीत् ।। १२५ ।।
अकृत्वा संविदं काञ्चित् सहसा समवप्लुतः ।

कृतज्ञं कृतकर्माणं कच्चिन्मां नाभिशंकसे ।। १२६ ।।
गत्वा च मम विश्वासं दत्त्वा च मम जीवितम् ।

मित्रोपभोगसमये किं मां त्वं नोपसर्पसि ।। १२७ ।।
कृत्वा हि पूर्वं मित्राणि यः पश्चान्नानुतिष्ठति ।
न स मित्राणि लभते कृच्छ्रास्वापत्सु दुर्मतिः ।। १२८ ।।

सत्कृतोऽहं त्वया मित्र सामर्थ्यादात्मनः सखे ।
स मां मित्रत्वमापन्नमुपभोक्तुं त्वमर्हसि ।। १२९ ।।

यानि मे सन्ति मित्राणि ये च सम्बन्धिबान्धवाः ।
सर्वे त्वां पूजयिष्यन्ति शिष्या गुरुमिव प्रियम् ।। १३० ।।

अहं च पूजयिष्ये त्वां समित्रगणबान्धवम् ।
जीवितस्य प्रदातारं कृतज्ञः को न पूजयेत् ।। १३१ ।।

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ईश्वरो मे भवानस्तु स्वशरीरगृहस्य च ।
अर्थानां चैव सर्वेषामनुशास्ता च मे भव ।। १३२ ।।

अमात्यो मे भव प्राज्ञ पितेवेह प्रशाधि माम् ।
न तेऽस्ति भयमस्मत्तो जीवितेनात्मनः शपे ।। १३३ ।।

बुद्धया त्वमुशना साक्षाद् बलेनाधिकृता वयम् ।
त्वं मन्त्रबलयुक्तो हि दत्त्वा जीवितमद्य मे ।। १३४ ।।

एवमुक्तः परां शान्ति मार्जारेण स मूषिकः ।
उवाच परमन्त्रज्ञः श्लक्ष्णमात्महितं वचः ।। १३५ ।।

यद् भवानाह तत् सर्वं मया ते लोमश श्रुतम् ।
ममापि तावद् ब्रुवतः शृणु यत् प्रतिभाति मे ।। १३६ ।।

वेदितव्यानि मित्राणि विज्ञेयाश्चापि शत्रवः ।
एतत् सुसूक्ष्मं लोकेऽस्मिन् दृश्यते प्राज्ञ सम्मतम् ।। १३७ ।।

शत्रुरूपा हि सुहृदो मित्ररूपाश्च शत्रवः ।
संधितास्ते न बुद्धयन्ते कामक्रोधवशं गताः ।। १३८ ।।

नास्ति जातु रिपुर्नाम मित्रं नाम न विद्यते ।
सामर्थ्ययोगाज्जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ।। १३९ ।।

यो यस्मिन् जीवति स्वार्थं पश्येत् पीडां न जीवति ।
स तस्य मित्रं तावत् स्याद् यावन्न स्याद् विपर्ययः ।। १४० ।।

नास्ति मैत्री स्थिरा नाम न च ध्रुवमसौहृदम् ।
अर्थयुक्त्यानुजायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ।। १४१ ।।

मित्रं च शत्रुतामेति कस्मिंश्चित कालपर्यये ।
शत्रुश्च मित्रतामेति स्वार्थो हि बलवत्तरः ।। १४२ ।।

यो विश्वसिति मित्रेषु न विश्वसिति शत्रुषु ।
अर्थयुक्तिमविज्ञाय यः प्रीतौ कुरुते मनः ।। १४३ ।।

मित्रे वा यदि शत्रौ तस्यापि चलिता मतिः ।
न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् ।। १४४ ।।

विश्वासाद् भयमुत्पन्नमपि मूलानि कृन्तति ।
अर्थयुक्त्या हि जायन्ते पिता माता सुतस्तथा ।। १४५ ।।

मातुला भागिनेयाश्च तथा सम्बन्धिबान्धवा ।
पुत्रं हि मातापितरौ त्यजतः पतितं प्रियम् ।। १४६ ।।

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लोको रक्षति चात्मानं पश्य स्वार्थस्य सारताम् ।
सामान्या निष्कृतिः प्राज्ञ यो मोक्षात् प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥ १४७ ॥

कृतं मृगयसे शत्रुं सुखोपायमसंशयम् ।
अस्मिन् निलय एव त्वं न्यग्रोधादवतारितः ॥ १४८ ॥

पूर्वं निविष्टमुन्माथं चपलत्वान्न बुद्धवान् ।
आत्मनश्चपलो नास्ति कुतोऽन्येषां भविष्यति ॥ १४९ ॥

तस्मात् सर्वाणि कार्याणि चपलो हन्त्यसंशयम् ।
ब्रवीषि मधुरं यस्य प्रियो मेऽद्य भवानिति ॥ १५० ॥

तन्मित्र कारणं सर्वं विस्तरेणापि मे शृणु ।
कारणात् प्रियतामेति द्वेष्यो भवति कारणात् ॥ १५१ ॥

अर्थार्थी जीवलोकोऽयं न कश्चित् कस्यचित् प्रियः ।
सख्यं सोदर्ययोर्भ्रात्रोर्दम्पत्योर्वा परस्परम् ॥ १५२ ॥

कस्यचिन्नाभिजानामि प्रीतिं निष्कारणामिह ।
यद्यपि भ्रातरः क्रुद्धा भार्या वा कारणान्तरे ॥ १५३ ॥

स्वभावतस्ते प्रीयन्ते नेतरः प्रीतरे जनः ।
प्रियो भवति दानेन प्रियवादेन चापरः ॥ १५४ ॥

मन्त्रहोमजपैरन्यः कार्यार्थं प्रीयते जनः ।
उत्पन्ना कारणे प्रीतिरासीन्नौ कारणान्तरे ॥ १५५ ॥

प्रध्वस्ते कारणस्थाने सा प्रीतिर्विनिवर्तते ।
किं नु तत् कारणं मन्ये येनाहं भवतः प्रियः ॥ १५६ ॥

अन्यत्राभ्यवहारार्थं तत्रापि च बुधा वयम् ।
कालो हेतुं विकुरुते स्वार्थस्तमनुवर्तते ॥ १५७ ॥

स्वार्थं प्राज्ञोऽभिजानाति प्राज्ञं लोकोऽनुवर्तते ।
न त्वीदृशं त्वया वाच्यं विदुषि स्वार्थपण्डिते ॥ १५८ ॥

अकाले हि समर्थस्य स्नेहहेतुरयं तव ।
तस्मान्नाहं चले स्वार्थात् सुस्थिरः संधिविग्रहे ॥ १५९ ॥

अभ्राणामिव रूपाणि विकुर्वन्ति क्षणे क्षणे ।
अद्यैव हि रिपुर्भूत्वा पुनरद्यैव मे सुहृत् ॥ १६० ॥

पुनश्च रिपुरद्यैव युक्तीनां पश्य चापलम् ।
आसीन्मैत्री तु तावन्नौ यावद्धेतुरभूत् पुरा ॥ १६१ ॥

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सा गता सह तेनैव कालयुक्तेन हेतुना ।
त्वं हि मे जातितः शत्रुः सामर्थ्यान्मित्रतां गतः ॥ १६२ ॥

तत् कृत्यमभिनिर्वर्त्य प्रकृतिः शत्रुतां गता ।
सोऽहमेवं प्रणीतानि ज्ञात्वा शास्त्राणि तत्त्वतः ॥ १६३ ॥

प्रविशेयं कथं पाशं त्वत्कृते तद् वदस्व मे ।
त्वद् वीर्येण प्रमुक्तोऽहं मद्वीर्येण तथा भवान् ॥ १६४ ॥

अन्योन्यानुग्रहे वृत्ते नास्तिभूयः समागमः ।
त्वं हि सौम्य कृतार्थोऽद्य निर्वृत्तार्थास्तथावयम् ॥ १६५ ॥

न तेऽस्त्यद्य मया कृत्यं किंचिदन्यत्र भक्षणात् ।
अहमन्नं भवान् भोक्ता दुर्बलोऽहं भवान् बली ॥ १६६ ॥

नावयोर्विद्यते संधिर्वियुक्ते विषमे बले ।
स मन्येऽहं तव प्रज्ञा यन्मोक्षात् प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥ १६७ ॥

भक्ष्यं मृगयसे नूनं सुखोपायेन कर्मणा ।
भक्ष्यार्थं ह्यवबद्धस्त्वं स मुक्तः पीडितः क्षुधा ॥ १६८ ॥

शास्त्रजां मतिमास्थाय नूनं भक्षयिताद्य माम् ।
जानामि क्षुधितं तु त्वामाहारसमयश्च ते ॥ १६९ ॥

स त्वं मामभिसंधाय भक्ष्यं मृगयसे पुनः ।
त्वं चापि पुत्रदारस्थो यत् संधिं सृजसे मयि ॥ १७० ॥

शुश्रूषां यतसे कर्तुं सखे मम न तत् क्षमम् ।
त्वया मां सहितं दृष्ट्वा प्रिया भार्या सुताश्च ते ॥ १७१ ॥

कस्मात् ते मां न खादेयुर्हृष्टाः प्रणयिनस्त्वयि ।
नाहं त्वया समेष्यामि वृत्तो हेतुः समागमे ॥ १७२ ॥

शिवं ध्यायस्व मे स्वस्थः सुकृतं स्मरसे यदि ।
शत्रोरनार्यभूतस्य क्लिष्टस्य क्षुधितस्य च ॥ १७३ ॥

भक्ष्यं मृगयमाणस्य कः प्राज्ञो विषयं व्रजेत् ।
स्वस्ति तेऽस्तु गमिष्यामि दूरादपि तवोद्विजे ॥ १७४ ॥

विश्वस्तं वा प्रमत्तं वा एतदेव कृतं भवेत् ।
बलवत्संनिकर्षो हि न कदाचित् प्रशस्यते ॥ १७५ ॥

नाहं त्वया समेष्यामि निवृत्तो भव लोमश ।
यदि त्वं सुकृतं वेत्सि तत् सख्यमनुसारय ॥ १७६ ॥

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प्रशान्तादपि मे पापाद् भेतव्यं बलिनः सदा ।
यदि स्वार्थं न ते कार्यं ब्रूहि किं करवाणि ते ।। १७७ ।।

कामं सर्वं प्रदास्यामि न त्वाऽऽत्मानं कदाचन ।
आत्मार्थे संततिस्त्याज्या राज्यं रत्नं धनानि च ।। १७८ ।।

अपि सर्वस्वमुत्सृज्य रक्षेदात्मानमात्मना ।
ऐश्वर्यधनरत्नानां प्रत्यमित्रे निवर्तताम् ।। १७९ ।।

दृष्ट्वा हि पुनरावृत्तिर्जीवतामिति नः श्रुतम् ।
न त्वात्मनः सम्प्रदानं धनरत्नवदिष्यते ।। १८० ।।

आत्मा हि सर्वदा रक्ष्यो दारैरपि धनैरपि ।
आत्मरक्षणतन्त्राणां सुपरीक्षितकारिणाम् ।। १८१ ।।

आपदो नोपपद्यन्ते पुरुषाणां स्वदोषजाः ।
शत्रून् सम्यग् विजानन्ति दुर्बला ये बलीयसः ।। १८२ ।।

न तेषां चाल्यते बुद्धिः शास्त्रार्थकृतनिश्चया ।
इत्यभिव्यक्तिमेवं स पलितेनाभिभर्त्सितः ।। १८३ ।।

मार्जारो व्रीडितो भूत्वा मूषिकं वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।। १८४ ।।

**लोमश उवाच**

सत्यं शपे त्वयाहं वै मित्रद्रोहोविगर्हितः ।
तन्मन्येऽहं तव प्रज्ञां यस्त्वं मम हिते रतः ।। १८५ ।।

उक्तवानर्थतत्त्वेन मयासम्भिन्नदर्शनः ।
न तु मामन्यथा साधो त्वं ग्रहीतुमिहार्हसि ।। १८६ ।।

प्राणप्रदानजं त्वत्तो मयि सौहृदमागतम् ।
धर्मज्ञोऽस्मि गुणज्ञोऽस्मि कृतज्ञोऽस्मि विशेषतः ।। १८७ ।।

मित्रेषु वत्सलश्चास्मि त्वद्भक्तश्च विशेषतः ।
तस्मादेवं पुनः साधो मय्याचरितुमर्हसि ।। १८८ ।।

त्वया हि वाच्यमानोऽहं जह्यां प्राणान् सबान्धवः ।
विश्रम्भो हि बुधैर्दृष्टो मद्विधेषु मनस्विषु ।। १८९ ।।

तदेतद् धर्मतत्त्वज्ञ न त्वं शङ्कितुमर्हसि ।
इति संस्तूयमानोऽपि मार्जारेण स मूषिकः ।। १९० ।।

मनसा भावगम्भीरो मार्जारं वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।
साधुर्भवाञ्श्रुतार्थोऽस्मि प्रीये च न च विश्वसे ।। १९१ ।।

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संस्तवैर्वा धनौघैर्वा नाहं शक्यः पुनस्त्वया ।
न ह्यमित्रे वशं यान्ति प्राज्ञा निष्कारणं सखे ॥ १९२ ॥

अस्मिन्नर्थे च गाथे द्वे निबोधोशनसा कृते ।
शत्रु साधारणे कृत्ये कृत्वा संधिं बलीयसा ॥ १९३ ॥

समाहितश्चरेद् युक्त्या कृतार्थश्च न विश्वसेत् ।
न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् ॥ १९४ ॥

नित्यं विश्वासयेदन्यान् परेषां तु न विश्वसेत् ।
तस्मात् सर्वास्ववस्थासु रक्षेज्जीवितमात्मनः ॥ १९५ ॥

द्रव्याणि संततिश्चैव सर्वं भवति जीवितः ।
संक्षेपो नीतिशास्त्राणामविश्वासः परो मतः ॥ १९६ ॥

नृषु तस्मादविश्वासः पुष्कलं हितमात्मनः ।
वध्यन्ते न ह्यविश्वस्ताः शत्रुभिर्दुर्बला अपि ॥ १९७ ॥

विश्वस्तास्तेषु वध्यन्ते बलवन्तोऽपि दुर्बलैः ।
त्वद्विधेभ्यो मया ह्यात्मा रक्ष्यो मार्जार सर्वदा ॥ १९८ ॥

रक्ष त्वमपि चात्मानं चाण्डालाज्जातिकिल्विषात् ।
स तस्य ब्रुवतस्त्वेवं संत्रासाज्जातसाध्वसः ॥ १९९ ॥

शाखां हित्वा जवेनाशु मार्जारः प्रययौ ततः ।
ततः शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञो बुद्धिसामर्थ्यमात्मनः ॥ २०० ॥

विश्राव्य पलितः प्राज्ञो विलमन्यज्जगाम ह ।
एवं प्रज्ञावता बुद्ध्या दुर्बलेन महाबलाः ॥ २०१ ॥

एकेन बहवोऽमित्राः पलितेनाभिसंधिताः ।
अरिणापिसमर्थेन संधिं कुर्वीत पण्डितः ॥ २०२ ॥

मूषिकश्च विडालश्च मुक्तावन्योन्यसंश्रयात् ।
इत्येवं क्षत्रधर्मस्य मया मार्गो निदर्शितः ॥ २०३ ॥

विस्तरेण महाराज संक्षेपमपि मे शृणु ।
अन्योन्यकृतवैरो तु चक्रतुः प्रीतिमुत्तमाम् ॥ २०४ ॥

अन्योन्यमभिसंधातुं सम्बभूव तयोर्मतिः ।
तत्र प्राज्ञोऽभिसंधत्ते सम्यग् बुद्धिसमाश्रयात् ॥ २०५ ॥

अभिसंधीयते प्राज्ञः प्रमादादपि वा बुधः ।
तस्मादभीतवद् भीतो विश्वस्तवदविश्वसन् ॥ २०६ ॥

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न ह्यप्रमत्तश्चलति चलितो वा विनश्यति ।
कालेन रिपुणा संधिः काले मित्रेण विग्रहः ।। २०७ ।।

कार्यं इत्येव संधिज्ञाः प्राहुर्नित्यं नराधिप ।
एतज्ज्ञात्वा महाराज शास्त्रार्थमभिगम्य च ।। २०८ ।।

अभियुक्तोऽप्रमत्तश्च प्राग्भयाद् भीतवच्चरेत् ।
भीतवत् संनिधिः कार्यः प्रतिसंधिस्तथैव च ।। २०९ ।।

भयादुत्पद्यते बुद्धिरप्रमत्ताभियोगजा ।
न भयं विद्यते राजन् भीतस्यानागते भये ।। २१० ।।

अभीतस्य च विश्रम्भात् सुमहज्जायते भयम् ।
अभीश्चरति यो नित्यं मन्त्रोऽदेयः कथंचन ।। २११ ।।

अविद्यानाद्धि विज्ञातो गच्छेदास्पददर्शिषु ।
तस्मातभीतवद् भीतो विश्वस्तवदविश्वसन् ।। २१२ ।।

कार्याणां गुरुतां प्राप्य नानृतं किंचिदाचरेत् ।
एवमेतन्मया प्रोक्तमितिहासं युधिष्ठिर ।। २१३ ।।

श्रुत्वा त्वं सुहृदां मध्ये यथावत् समुपाचर ।
उपलभ्य मतिं चाग्र्यामरिमित्रान्तरं तथा ।। २१४ ।।

संधिविग्रहकालौ च मोक्षोपायस्तथैव च ।
शत्रुसाधारणे कृत्ये कृत्वा संधिं बलीयसा ।। २१५ ।।

समागतश्चरेद् युक्त्या कृतार्थो न च विश्वसेत् ।
अविरुद्धां त्रिवर्गेण नीतिमेतां महीपते ।। २१६ ।।

अभ्युत्तिष्ठ श्रुतादस्माद् भूयः संरक्षयन् प्रजाः ।
ब्राह्मणैश्चापि ते सार्धं यात्रा भवतु पाण्डव ।। २१७ ।।

ब्राह्मणा वै परं श्रेयो दिवि चेह च भारत ।
एते धर्मस्य वेत्तारः कृतज्ञाः सततं प्रभो ।। २१८ ।।

पूजिताः शुभकर्तारः पूजयेत् तान् नराधिप ।
राज्यं श्रेयः परं राजन् यशः कीर्तिं च लप्स्यसे ।। २१९ ।।

कुलस्य संतर्तिं चैव यथान्यायं यथाक्रमम् ।। २२० ।।

द्वयोरिमं भारत संधिविग्रहं
सुभाषितं बुद्धिविशेषकारकम् ।
यथा त्ववेक्ष्य क्षितिपेन सर्वदा
निषेवितव्यं नृप शत्रुमण्डले ।। २२१ ।।

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## B—BṚIHAT KATHĀ MANJARĪ

### (VII. Madanamañchukā)

### MĀRJĀRĀKHYAYIKĀ

त्राणं नैसर्गिकी बुद्धिर्नृणामिति किमद्भुतम् ।
तिरश्चामपि निष्पन्ना व्यसनोच्छित्तये मतिः ॥ ४७६ ॥

न्यग्रोधमूलपतितः पालितो नाम मूषकः ।
जाले लोमशमार्जारं ददर्श पतितं पुरः ॥ ४७७ ॥

बद्धे तस्मिन्गताशङ्कः स जिघ्रन्स्वयमागतः ।
भुजैर्बर्हिश्चरन्नाशु विलिखन्नखरैर्महीम् ॥ ४७८ ॥

ददर्श नकुलं तत्रोलूकं च विकृताननम् ।
तौ दृष्ट्वा प्राणसंदेहे मूषकः समचिन्तयत् ॥ ४७९ ॥

नकुलोलूकभीतोऽहं मार्जारं बलिनां वरम् ।
श्रयामि विषमस्थानां संधिं स्थाने हि शत्रुणा ॥ ४८० ॥

चिन्तयन्निति तत्पाशं छेत्स्यामि बद्धसौहृदः ।
मार्जारमवदन्नीलं काचकाञ्चनलोचनम् ॥ ४८१ ॥

अमित्रो मित्रतां याति मित्रं वा यात्यमित्रताम् ।
कालेन तस्य च्छेत्स्यामि पाशं ते बद्धसौहृदः ॥ ४८२ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा समधुरं मार्जारः सुहृदं व्यधात् ।
गाढमङ्के परिष्वज्य मूषकं विपदि स्थितः ॥ ४८३ ॥

तं दृष्ट्वा नकुलोलूकौ निराशावाखुभक्षणे ।
बभूवतुर्मन्दमुखौ तदुपाश्रयशङ्कितौ ॥ ४८४ ॥

ततः शनैः शनैराखुश्चिच्छेद स्नायुबन्धनम् ।
तूर्णमित्याह मार्जार विलावं चिरकारणम् ॥ ४८५ ॥

स्वार्थमुद्दिश्य लम्बन्ते स वा भक्तिभिरीश्वरम् ।
धूर्तस्तत्कार्यशेषेण यापयेत्कार्यकारणात् ॥ ४८६ ॥

इति ध्यात्वा धियैवाखुलुब्धकागमनावधि ।
एकपाशांशशेषं तं चकार नयकोविदः ॥ ४८७ ॥

कालाकारकरालेऽथ संप्राप्ते पाशजीविनि ।
चकर्त पाशशेषं तं छित्वैव बिलमाविशत् ॥ ४८८ ॥

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भयान्मुक्तोऽथ मार्जारः कालेनाभ्येत्य मूषकम् ।
बिलद्वारस्थितः प्राह सखे निर्गम्यतामिति ।। ४८९ ।।

तीक्ष्णवक्रोच्चदशनस्मश्रुसूचीनिभाननम् ।
कक्षासंवृत्तलांगूर्लं जिघ्रन्तं बिलसौरभम् ।। ४९० ।।

उच्चैकपादनिभृतं मीलितार्धविलोचनम् ।
पार्श्वाविलोकिनं दृष्ट्वा मार्जारं मूषकोऽवदत् ।। ४९१ ।।

सौहार्देनोपयुक्तः प्राक्तव चाहं भवांश्च मे ।
गम्यतां स गतः कालो न भूमिर्वञ्चनास्वहम् ।। ४९२ ।।

यद्भवान्मधुरं वक्ति मह्यं तन्नाद्य रोचते ।
यातस्ते कार्यकालोऽसावधुना नास्ति संगतिः ।। ४२३ ।।

निजप्रयोजनापेक्षाप्रेशलप्रेमभाषिणाम् ।
दुर्लुब्धक्रूर मनसां धीमान्को नाम विश्वसेत् ।। ४९४ ।।

कृतज्ञ भव मे मित्रं दूरादेवार्यचेतसाम् ।
न सङ्गोऽस्ति विरुद्धो हि भोग्यभोक्तुः समागमः ।। ४९५ ।।

निरस्यबहुभिर्वाक्यैर्मार्जारमिति मूषकः ।
बिलं तत्याज कालेन धूर्तं शत्रुं विलीक्य तम् ।। ४९६ ।।

इतिमार्जाराख्यायिका ।। १७ ।।

## C—KATHĀ SARITASĀGARA—VI LAMBAKA,

### VII Taraṁga—*Ulūka-nakula-mārjārāṇāṁ kathā*

It is a styled a nidarśana-kathā :

तिर्यञ्चोऽपि हि रक्षन्ति स्वात्मानमिति यत्त्वया ।
उक्तो राजा तदश्रौषं योगादहमलक्षितः ।। १०४ ।।

निदर्शनं चेदत्रास्ति तन्मे कथय सन्मते ।
इति योगेश्वरेणोक्तः स्माह यौगन्धरायणः ।। १०५ ।।

अस्ति मित्र तथा चात्र कथामाख्यामि ते शृणु ।
विदिशानगरीबाह्ये न्यग्रोधोऽभूत्पुरा महान् ।। १०६ ।।

चत्वारः प्राणिनस्तत्र वसन्ति स्म महातरौ ।
नकुलोलूकमार्जारमूषकाः पृथगालयाः ।। १०७ ।।

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भिन्ने भिन्ने बिले मूल आस्तां नकुलमूषकौ ।
मार्जारो मध्यभागस्थे तरोर्महति कोटरे ।। १०८ ।।

उलूकस्तु शिरोभागेऽनन्यलभ्ये लतालये ।
मूषकोऽत्र त्रिभिर्वंध्यो मार्जारेण त्रयोऽपरे ।। १०९ ।।

अन्नाय मार्जारभयान्मूषको नकुलस्तथा ।
स्वभावेनाप्युलूकस्य परिभ्रेर्मुनिशि त्रयः ।। ११० ।।

मार्जारश्च दिवारात्रौ निर्भयः प्रभ्रमत्यसौ ।
यत्रासन्ने यवक्षेत्रे सदा मूषिकलिप्सया ।। १११ ।।

येऽन्येऽपि युक्त्या जग्मुस्तत्स्वकालेऽन्नाभिवाञ्छया ।
एकदा लुब्धकस्तत्र चाण्डालः कश्चिदाययौ ।। ११२ ।।

स मार्जारपदश्रेणिं दृष्ट्वा तत्क्षेत्रगामिनीम् ।
तद्वधायाभितः क्षेत्रं पाशान्दत्त्वा ततो ययौ ।। ११३ ।।

तत्र रात्रौ च मार्जारः स मूषिक जिघांसया ।
एत्य प्रविष्टस्तत्पाशैः क्षेत्रे तस्मिन्नबध्यत ।। ११४ ।।

मूषकोऽपि ततोऽन्नार्थी स तत्र निभृतागतः ।
बद्धं तं वीक्ष्य मार्जारं जहर्ष च ननर्त च ।। ११५ ।।

यावद्विशति तत्क्षेत्रं दूरादेकेन वर्त्मना ।
तत्र तौ तावदायातावुलूकनकुलावपि ।। ११६ ।।

दृष्टमार्जारबन्धौ च मूषकं लब्धुमैच्छताम् ।
मूषकोऽपि च तद्दृष्ट्वा दूराद्विग्नो व्यचिन्तयत् ।। ११७ ।।

नकुलोलूकभयदं मार्जारं संश्रये यदि ।
बद्धोऽप्येकप्रहारेण शत्रुर्ममिष मारयेत् ।। ११८ ।।

मार्जाराद्दूरगं हन्यादुलोको नकुलश्च माम् ।
तत्छत्रुसंकटगतः क्व गच्छामि करोमि किम् ।। ११९ ।।

हन्त मार्जारमेवेह श्रयाम्यापद्गतो ह्ययम् ।
आत्मत्राणाय मां रक्षेत्पाशच्छेदोपयोगिनम् ।। १२० ।।

इत्यालोच्य शनैर्गत्वा मार्जारं मूषकोऽब्रवीत् ।
बद्धे त्वय्यतिदुःखं मे तत्तेपाशं छिनद्म्यहम् ।। १२१ ।।

ऋजूनां जायते स्नेहः सहवासाद्रिपुष्वपि ।
किं तु मे नास्ति विश्वासस्तव चित्तमजानतः ।। १२२ ।।

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तच्छ्रुत्वोवाच मार्जारो भद्रविश्यतां त्वया ।
अद्य प्रभृति मे मित्रं भवान्प्राणप्रदायकः ॥ १२३ ॥

इति श्रुत्वैव मार्जारात्तस्योत्सङ्गं स शिश्रिये ।
तद्दृष्ट्वा नकुलोलूकौ निराशौ ययतुस्ततः ॥ १२४ ॥

ततो जगाद मार्जारो मूषकं पाशपीडितः ।
गतप्राया निशा मित्र तत्पाशांश्छिन्धि मे द्रुतम् ॥ १२५ ॥

मूषकोऽपि शनैश्छिन्दल्लुब्धकागमनोन्मुखः ।
मृषा कटकटायद्भिर्दशनैरकरोच्चिरम् ॥ १२६ ॥

क्षणाद्रात्रौ प्रभातायां लुब्धके निकटागते ।
मार्जारेऽर्थयमाने द्राक्पाशांश्चिच्छेद मूषकः ॥ १२७ ॥

छिन्नपाशेऽथ मार्जारे लुब्धकत्रास विद्रुते ।
मूषको मृत्युमुक्तः सन्पलाय्य प्राविशद्बिलम् ॥ १२८ ॥

नाश्वसत्पुनराहूतो मार्जारेण जगाद च ।
कालयुक्त्या ह्यरिर्मित्रं जायते न च सर्वदा ॥ १२९ ॥

एवं बहुभ्यः शत्रुभ्यः प्रज्ञयात्माभिरक्षितः ।
मूषकेन तिरश्चापि किं पुनर्मानुषेषु यत् ॥ १३० ॥

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## APPENDIX II

## AN IMAGE OF BHĀRATAMĀTĀ

We have representations of the sacred earth in the scluptures and paintings. It exhibits the bare truth that patriotism became a living cult based on the Vedic and Epic traditions of the worship of the Mother Earth. Bhavabhūti refers to earth as Viśvambharā-bhagvatī (U. R. Ch., I. 9), corresponding to the Goddess Earth (Devī Mahī[1] or Dharā Devī[2]) :

तथैवेयं धरा देवी सागरान्ता सपत्तना ।

Ādi Parva, CXXIX. 61.

She is supported by the Lord :

तथैव कृत्वा विवरं प्रविश्य स ,
प्रभुर्भुवो भुजगवराग्रजः स्थिता ।
विभर्ति देवीं शिरसा महीमिमां ,
समुद्रनेमिं परिगृह्य सर्वतः ॥

Ādi Parva, CXXXVI. 21.

It became a popular theme of the Purāṇas[3] and our classical sclupture.

Dr. V. S. Agrawal drew our attention to 'a beautifully carved silver dish—bearing a strikingly original representation of India as a woman seated on a chair supported on elephant tusks. The dish is now preserved in Istanbul Museum of Antiquities'.[4] According to Warmington, who published this silver dish, India is surrounded by mammals and birds which reflect Rome's commerce with India by the land route which was chiefly in use for such items of Indian export. He assigns the dish to the first or second century A.D".[5]

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1. Ādi Parva. XXXVI. 22.
2. Ibid., CXXXIX. 61.
3. Vishṇu P., V. 17. 12.
4. J. U. P. H. S., Vol.XVI, Part 2 (Dec. 1943) P. 3.
5. Ibid., vide "The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India" 1928, P. 143.

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"The female figure occupies the centre of the dish, and birds and animals are arranged in three rows and in pairs, one on each side of the figure. The bird on the proper right is of the parrot family, representing the large Indian parrakeet found throughout India. It resembles the many other representations of this bird in Indian sclupture and art. The bird in the corresponding left position is according to Warmington a Guinea fowl representing some African species, although he sees that its head is unlike that of a Guinea fowl.....Dr. Coomarswami on the otherhand takes it to resemble a Himalayan quail..... The two animals in the second row near the ivory legs of the chair were supposed by Warmington to be Hanumān monkeys.....".[1] Dr. V. S. Agrawal holds "that it is not correct He takes them to "represent dogs of tigirine breed .....which, was reared in the old Kekaya country of the Salt Range as recorded in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, 70. 31). "In the third row two human keepers with flowing scarfs are restraining with ropes two carnivorous animals, the one on proper right being a tiger and the other on left a panther or leopard bearing ring spots on his body. The female figure is seated in the centre on a chair supported on elephant tusks resting on the ground. She wears a sārī, most likely with one end tucked behind i.e. the Sakachchha style common amongst Marāṭhā women in Western India. The sandals (chappals) on the feet deserve notice and are a Roman feature..... She wears on her head a turban with a twisted role in front. Under it is shown the front line of frizzled hair, arranged on each side of the face in three superimposed tiers each consisting of three strands..... In India this style of hair appears on the terracotta figurines of the early Gupta period, about 4th. century A. D..... .....It is a happy conception of Mother India to show in one hand the abhaya-mudrā and the bow wielding attitude in the other hand. The attributes and emblems

1. J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XVI, Pt. II., pp. 3-4.
2. Ibid., p. 4; Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa LXX. 20 (Gita Press Edn).

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of the figure suggest its most obvious identification with India (Bhārata-Laksmī) as Warmington suggested.[1]" Dr. Agrawal further observes that "This feature pointedly refers to India as the object of portrayal. .....There is no doubt that he (engraver) succeeded eminently well in portraying India as a woman with fidelity to the formal elements then associated with India in the contemporary commercial world. The entire conception is no doubt original and happy".[2] The entire scene portraying Bhārata-Lakshmī is based on the following literal picture of Rājaśrī as presented by Vālmīki in his Rāmāyaṇa. Here Rājaśrī is stated to be floating like a boat in the troublous waters without a Karṇadhāra :

तस्यैषा धर्मराजस्य धर्ममूला महात्मनः ।
परिभ्रमति राजश्रीर्नौरिवाकर्णिका जले ॥
Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, LXXXI. 6.

Thus what appears to be a chair is the representation of a boat floating on the sea full of fishes and water-elephants :

ह्रद इव तिमिनाग संवृतः स्तिमितजलो मणिशंख शर्करः ॥[3]

This representation of Bhārata-Lakshmī, found on a Roman dish, supports the Indian tradition of sculpturing Mother India which had her commercial, political and cultural relations with the Roman Empire. Such was the grandeur of Bhārata-bhū.

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1. J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XVI, Pt. II, pp. 5-6.
2. Ibid. p. 6.
3. Ayodhyā K., LXXXI. 16.

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## APPENDIX III

### GAJA-ŚĀRDŪLA

An other important point which is to be borne into mind is the use of Mātaṁga, Kari, Gaja, etc. meaning elephant for the Muslims as we have noticed in the Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya, and other literary works even upto 16th and 17th centuries of our era. Rājavilāsa,[1] a Hindi work dealing with the history of Mewar, also, has 'Mlechchhamātaṁga (Rājavilāsa, II. 97). The inscriptions also, as has been pointed above, refer to these furious and irresistible elephants (durvāra vara vāraṇa). On the other hand Lion, or 'Nṛi-siṁha', one of the incarnations of Vishṇu, is ultimately described to have overpowered these elephants. This symbolic depiction of elephant and lion representing the struggle between Turks and Hindus is very significant and an unimpeachable evidence of Hindu genius which devised such national symbols to evade the fire and fury. The device has also been portrayed on the coins of Hindu medieval India. On the copper coins of the Shāhī rulers we find elephant on the overse and the reverse side of the coins depicts lion (I.M.C., Vol., I, p. 243). This variety of Shāhī coinage has the names of 'Śrī Padama ! 'Śrī Vakhadeva' and 'Sri Sāmaṁtadeva'. The currency of the Shāhī rulars had also influenced the coinage of the Tomaras and Chāhamānas, who fought like Shāhīs against the Muslims for the defence of their country and culture.

The most remarkable representation of this lion device we find on the coins of the Kalachuri kings, some of which portray a lion, facing right, rampant;[2] as if lion, the saviour of Bhāratī was waiting for the Mlechchha-Mātaṁga. On the coins of Jājalladeva I, we find on the reverss 'Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying pros-

1. Published by Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā. Banaras edited by Menaria.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV., p. CLXXXIV.

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trate below'.[1] The same idea is conveyed to us by the representation of two-armed Hanumān to left trampling a demon[2] on the reverse of an other variety of the same series of coinage issued by Jajalladeve I. Similarly the coins of Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II also depict Gaja-Siṁha device on the reverse as well as the portrayal of Hanumān killing the demon.[3] The coins of Pratāpamalla have the lion alone.[4] In his introduction on Kalachuris (C.I.I., Vol. IV), Dr. Mirashi observes: "The type, 'Lion attacking an elephant', seen on gold coins of this dynasty (Kalachuris) seem also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladeva I. It probably symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gaṅgā King. The Ratanapur inscription of his reign mentions his conquest of Khimidī, which lay in the kingdom of the Gaṅgas. The latter were known as Gajapatis, or Gajādhīśas, lords of elephants'. Jājalladeva's victory over the Gaṅgā king was, therefore, fittingly represented by a lion attacking an elephant which lies prostrate below".[5] But as has been shown above this 'Gaja-śārdūla' device represents struggle between Turkish invaders and kshatriya rulers.

Jājalladeva I was an ally of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj and Chandella ruler Sallakshaṇa Varman, who had to fight against the Turushkas. Kamalarāja, the aucessor of Jājalladeva I, was similarly in friendly relation with his overlord Gāṅgeyadeva Kalachurī who also had to fight against Turks. Thus the ancestors of Jājalladeva I and he himself must have come into conflict with Muslims in the 11th. century A.D. This fact is very well evidenced by Ratanapur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva I, as it also refers to this struggle saying that "his eighteen sons who destroyed his enemies as lions slay elephants" :

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1. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. CLXXXV. Plates 5.6.
2. Ibid, p. CLXXXV, Plate 7.
3. Ibid., p. CLXXXVI-CLXXXVII, Plates 8 to 18.
4. Ibid., p. CLXXXVII, Plates, 19, 20.
5. Ibid., p. CLXKXIII.

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अष्टादशास्य रिपुकुंभविभंगसिंहा: पुत्रा बभूव:[1].....

The verse 17 of the Akalatara Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva II tells as :

य: कृत्वा करिबन्ध कौतुक रस श्रद्धालुरुर्वी तले ।
निर्मातंगमखण्डविन्ध्यविपिनंपत्यापतिदन्तिनाम्
गौडेन्द्रं मघवत्सदृक्षमपृथूकुर्वन्नपि प्रत्यहं
वीरोवैरिपुरं व्यधत्त करिणां बन्धाय विंध्यस्थलीम् ।।

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 433.

It, too, refers to the invasion of the Vindhya forest by the Mlechchha-mātaṁgas who, as has been said above, were irresistable (durvāra vara vāraṇa). Hence the inscription says that 'having captured (these) elephants on earth in sport i. e. without much effort due to his desire and devotion to this task due to which he succeeded in freeing the whole Vindhya-pradeśa from these elephants through his lord the king of Gauḍa, who.....destroyed the enemy's city. Jonarāja, the author of the Second Rājataraṁginī refers to Siṁhaparaṁparā (Line 121) and further tells that Siṁhadeva Nṛisiṁha protected the earth so threatened :

सिंह देवो नृसिंहोऽथक्ष्मांररक्ष क्षयाकुलां

Line 119

Thus we see that this Gaja-śārdūla device or Siṁhaparamparā (or Siṁha-nyāya of Pṛithivīrāja Rāso, Kanavajja, 263) is very important. The study of Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya along with Jonarāja's commentary has clearly used the word Mātaṁga for Muslims (P.V., I. 49-50).

Mr. B. N. Nath points to representation of Gaja-śārdūla device on the reverse of the coins of the Eastern Chedi rulers like Ratnadeva and Jājalladeva I with letters 'ta', 'mā', and 'ma' above the trunk or on the right of the elephant.Mr. B. N. Nath thinks that these letters 'ta' and 'ma'

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1. Ratanapur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeve I line 5, C.I.I., IV, p. 412 Amoda Plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, year 831, p. 405, L. 8 Sarkho Plates Ratna deva II Line, 6-7, Ibid, p. 426. also see-
Verse 7, C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 293, 647 :

आसीन् मदांध नृपगंध गजाधिराजनिर्माथ केसरियुवायुवराजदेव: ।।

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refer to the mint cities viz , Tumman and Mallar.[1] But these letters 'ta', 'mā' and 'ma' associated with the elephant, symbolic representative of the Muslim, refer to Tājikas, Mātaṁgas or Mataṁgas. Pṛithivirāja Rāso uses the term 'gaṁ' (गं) associated with Sāhi, the lord of Gajjana.[2]

We have explicit exposition of the symbolic 'Gaja'—Sārduūl' :

कलि कलिंग उतपन असुर, वधे ध्रंम धर भूप ।
कलि कलिमल सो हरण हरि कियो कलंकि सरूप ।।

Pr. Rāso, II. 100.

Here Hari (Siṁha-vishnu i. e. Nara-siṁha) took the form of Kalkī to destroy the Elephant (Kaliṁga) in the Kali age. The term Kali is, in itself, a mystery to the modern world. It is stated to have taken birth from violence (hiṁsā).[3] Wealth, woman, wine and gambling are the resorts of Kali,[4] whose family is represented by many athiests (dharma-niṁdakas)[5] devoted to the destruction of yajñas, education, learning, hermitage, Vedas, and Tantras etc.[6] The advent of Kali is, thus, represented by the deterioration of our moral, social, and religious values[7] (dharma-hāniḥ) :[8]

कलिना बलिना धर्मघातिना द्विजपातिना ।
निराकृता धर्मरता गता वर्षान्तरान्तरम् ।।[9]

Kalkī's incarnation aimed at the destruction of Kali near Śambhala[10] (Sambhala, Distt. Moradabad, U.P.) i. e.

1. J. N. S. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199-201.
2. Pr. Rāso, Vol. IV, Dhīra Puṇḍīra, 57 :

   बंधौंन साहि देखंत गं, अज्ज हिंद दिन पद्धर ।।

3. Kalki Purāṇa, I. 1. 18.
4. Ibid., I. 1. 19.
5. Ibid., I. 1. 21.
6. Ibid., I. 1. 22.
7. Ibid., I. 1. 23-45.
8. Ibid., I. 2. 1.
9. Ibid., I. 2. 45.
10. Ibid., II. 1. 22-25.

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Madhyadeśa threatened by the Mlechchhas,[1] who seem to have been helped by the Buddhists.[2] Mlechchhas were notorious for their vicious violence and opposition to dharma.[3] The same demoniacal Kali, the scourage of Medieval India—the Mātaṁga-Mlechchha, who caused havoc at Pushkara (P. V., I. 48-49)—was none else than the wild and wicked elephant :—

"पुष्करं कलिरूपेण कलिं हन्तुमिवागमत् ।
विदार्यकृत्त्या तस्यैव क्रीडया वितधे वपुः ।।

पुष्करं तीर्थं पद्मं च हस्ति रूपेण कलिं हन्तुमागतमिवकलिं पाटयित्वा तच्चर्मणा लीलया गात्रं प्यधात् ।।"

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, VIII. 92.

Here Kṛittivāsa (Śiva) is represented as the annihilator of Kali (Mlechchha-Mātaṁga).

But normally lion is so represented as to have dashed the elephant. Pṛithivīrāja III like a lion, Hanumān or Garuḍa tried to crush and curb the Kali-vyāla :[5]

जनुकि स्यंघु वनगज्जि, झपटि कर करिणि जुत्थ परि ।
जनुकि अंजिनिजात, पातदनु दिखिहत्थ धरि ।।
जनुकि भीम भीमंग, दंत दंतीय उछ्यारण ।
जनुकि गरुड़ि गल गज्जि, पंनग पहु पारण ।।[4]

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1. Ibid., II. 3. 30 :

अधुना कलिकुलनाशावतारो बौद्धपाखण्डम्लेच्छादीनाञ्चवेदधर्मसेतु परिपालनाय कृतावतारः कल्कि रूपेण ।

2. Ibid., II. 7. 38 :

बौद्धा शौद्धोदनाद्यग्रे कृत्वा तामग्रतः पुनः ।
योद्धुं समागता म्लेच्छकोटिलक्षशतैर्वृताः ।।

Ibid., III. 1. 43 :

दत्त्वा मोक्ष म्लेच्छबौद्धप्रियाणां कृत्वा युद्धं भैरवंभीमकर्मा ।
हत्त्वा बौद्धान् म्लेछसंघाश्च कल्किस्तेषां ज्योतिः स्थानामापूर्य्य रेजे ।।

Ibid., III. 2. 1.

3. Ibid., III. 4. 24; cf. P. V., I. 48-50.
4. Pr. Rāso, VII. 15.
5. Kalkī Purāṇa I. 2. 8 :

पुनः कृतयुगं कृत्वा धर्मान्संस्थाप्य पूर्ववत् ।
कलिव्यालं संनिरस्य प्रयास्ये स्वालयं विभो ।।

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Kshatriyas took pride in boasting—

हौं भंजौ गजझुंड ॥

Pr. Rāso, XL. 14.

जंग करै चामंड, खरिग गज झुंडन जुट्टौ ॥

.....

.....

दल दंद करत दाहर सुतन, मादन वारुन दारुन दलन ॥

Pr. Rāso, XL. 29.

सिंधु साह गज गाह, खग्ग खंडौं खल खित्तह ।

Pr. Rāso, XLII. 24.

सक्क फौज गौरी नरिंद, दंत पंती गज गाहौ ॥

Pr. Rāso, LII. 17.

Lion, however, weak destroys wild elephant—

जं केहरि तन खीनं तं गज मत्त जूथ यं दलएं ॥

Pr. Raso, LVIII. 683.

The lion represents Narahari (Nṛi-simha) :

नरहर अपुव्व नह पुव्व पर, दुरद दनुज दारुन दिसनि ।
जन हेत बिध्धुन्निय अधम उर, रुहिर चन्द घुंटिय रिसनि ॥

Pr. Rāso, LXI. 169.

Pṛithivīrāja Vijaya, too, follows the tradition :

पञ्चाननोहमभवं न ममाधुनास्ति तत्पञ्चमं मुखमितीव भयाद्विधात्रा ।
दिङ्नागचक्रमपि पादतले विधातुं पादाष्टक प्रकटनात्परिपूरितेच्छम् ॥

P. V., IV. 18.

Rightly these elephants have been styled 'Garjanān Mātaṁgān' (P. V., V. 113), the wicked (vārākāḥ, P. V. VI. 112) and demons in human form (nara-rākshas. P. V., X. 42). Hence this Mlechchha-Mātaṁga was styled Asura-kuñjara ( Navasāhahasāṁka Ch. XVI. 92 ). Rāso also refers to them Gajjana-gayaṁda (i. e. Gazanavides and Ghoris), the hostile and harmful elephants (ripu arishṭa kuñjara).[1] The real strength of the kshatriyas lay in tearing of the temple of these elephants :

सिंघन्याय दुब्बरौ, करी चंपे न कंठ कह ॥[2]

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1. Pr. Rāso, LX. 59.
2. Ibid., LVIII. 263.

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Thus rightly Hindu Medieval thinkers defined kingship as purification of the country through Vīra-rasa based on the destruclion of the elephants :

विजित सकलारातिपक्षश्चतुरुदधिपर्यन्तमालामेखलाया: क्षितेर्मण्डनभूतो मत्तेभकुंभमण्डलविदारण केसरिकिशोरैरिव विक्रमैकरससमस्तदिङ्मंडल प्रख्यात कीर्ति:.....।

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 140, line 15-16.

i. e. by the delight based on valour and glory spreading to all the quarters due to tearing of the frontal globes of rutting elephants, the illustrious Kshatriya became an ornament of the earth surrounded by four occeans. Again the epigraph adds :

"करिकरनिष्ठुर.....निस्त्रिंश प्रहारदलित प्रमुखा गतवैरिवारण कुंभ-स्थलोच्छलत्प्रत्यग्रधवलनिर्मलमुक्ताफलप्रकरकुंभस्तबक समभ्यर्चित धरित्रीतल: ....."

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 140, lines 7-9.

i. e. sacred mother land—dharitrītalaḥ—was worshipped with pure jewels taken from the frontal globes of hostile elephants." Pṛithivīrāja III, justified fully to bear the title of Bhārateśvara.

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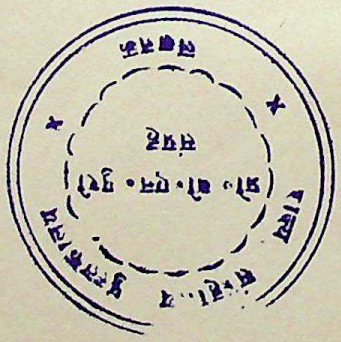

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